

THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE  
IN  
EUROPE:

*Part the First,*

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT of the Connection between the Kingdoms of  
ENGLAND and IRELAND, previous to the Year 1780.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

An Historical Sketch of the State of Rivalry between the Kingdoms  
of ENGLAND, and SCOTLAND, in former Times.

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BY JOHN LEWIS DE LOLME, Advocate, LL.D.

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The Second and Third Parts contain Accounts of the Changes which  
have, since the Year 1780, been effected in the Constitution of  
Ireland,—and of the influence these Changes may have on the  
Government and Constitution of Great Britain.

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MDCCLXXXVII

# BRITISH EMPIRE

IN

## EUROPE

Part the First

CONTAINING

An Account of the Connection between the Kingdoms of  
TERRACE and the Kingdom of the Year 1780.

It is now more than the third of Great Britain has been  
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1780

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E R R A T A.

Page 90, last line but three,	for in Kingdom, read, in the Kingdom.
95, line 1,	for stilled, read, styled.
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## *The Kingdom of Scotland.*

### CHAP. I.

#### *The Wars and hostility between the Kingdoms of England, and Scotland.*

**F**ROM very remote times the Island of Great Britain had been divided into two distinct Parts or Regions.

In the Southern part seven different Sovereignities were established, which became successively united into one, and formed the Monarchy and Country of England.

The Northern part of the Island, being nearly three hundred miles in length, formed the Kingdom and Country of Scotland; which was totally independent on, and unconnected with, the Monarchy established in the South.

Those Kings who had united the seven Saxon Sovereignities under their dominion, were not without some ambition also to make the conquest of Scotland, as we may judge from the inscriptions upon some of their coins, in which the style is used, of *Magnæ Britannæ Rex*. However, they never proceeded to any actual, earnest enterprize, to effect that conquest: and the title they assumed of *Kings of Great Britain*, was only the effect of temporary flights of ambitious

vanity, not unlike that which causes Eastern Princes to add to their other titles that of *Sovereigns of the World*.

The first Kings of the Norman line manifested a similar kind of inactivity in regard to attempting to subdue the Kingdom of Scotland: they possibly entertained the same ~~case~~ <sup>idea</sup> of the difficulty of the undertaking as the Saxon Kings had done.

Edward the first, who reigned about an hundred and fifty years posterior to the Norman Conquest, was the first King of England who formed a serious design to unite the Kingdom of Scotland to his Crown. He was induced to the enterprize by his peculiar ambitious temper: and the success he had had in bringing the Principality of Wales under his obedience, became a farther stimulus to his ambition.

An extremely favourable opportunity moreover offered itself to King Edward the First.

The Crown of Scotland had become vacant, by the death of the late Sovereign without leaving issue. Two Candidates, sprung from the Scottish Royal family, laid claim to it. The decision of the dispute was referred to Edward by the two Claimants, and likewise by the Body of the Scottish Nobles, who were apprehensive of a civil war among themselves.—Edward, under pretence of using greater solemnity, invited the two Candidates, together with the principal Persons of the Scottish Nobility, to meet him at Norham, in Northumberland, where he was at that time encamped with an army. Having thus got all the important Persons of Scotland in his power, he, on a sudden, proffered a claim, in his own behalf, of Sovereignty and liege superiority over the Kingdom of Scotland; and before he suffered either of the Candidates, or any of the Scottish Nobles, to depart, he compelled them to submit to his claim, and



and take an oath of fealty to him. About a year afterwards he gave his award on the dispute; and before he put the successful Claimant (John Baliol) in possession of the Kingdom, he compelled him to renew his oath of fealty to him, and to bind himself to performing in future the different services which the feudal laws usually imposed upon Vassals, such as obeying summons, giving military aid, &c.

Conditions that had been submitted to, amidst such circumstances, were not likely to be afterwards very faithfully executed. The failure of the Scottish King in performing those engagements which had thus been forced upon him, induced Edward to invade Scotland. He was so successful in this expedition, as both to defeat his new Vassal, and make him his prisoner. He carried him to London, where he kept him confined in the Tower; leaving, in the mean time, an English Governor, supported by an English military force, in Scotland.

The Scots took arms a second time, under the conduct of that renowned leader, William Wallace; but, after a series of considerable successes, they lost the great battle of Falkirk, in which Edward commanded in person; and Scotland was again brought under subjection.

Encouraged by the natural strength of their Country, the Scots rose a third time, and falling from their mountains and hidden fastnesses, drove the English garrisons before them. Edward led another army into Scotland. He was again successful, and carried his conquests in this third expedition, as well as his resentment, farther than he had done before.

A fourth time the Scots took arms; and Edward was once more marching a powerful army in order to reduce them, with a settled resolution to annihilate every remnant of resistance and opposition in Scot-

land, when he on a sudden fell sick, and died on the borders, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Edward, on his death-bed, had recommended to his son Edward II. to prosecute the war against the Scots, till that Country were completely subdued. This Prince, as soon as he was fully settled on his throne, undertook an expedition against Scotland in person. But the fortune of war here favoured the Scots in their turn. They defeated Edward II. at Bannockburn, near Stirling. The victory which they obtained over him was so decisive as to have been compared by Historians to that won by William the Conqueror at Hastings.

This victory secured the Scots against any farther attempt from England during that reign. But the succeeding King, Edward III. soon resumed in his turn the design of conquering Scotland; and he displayed in his different enterprizes against the Scots, a degree of activity and earnestness equal to that manifested by King Edward I.

And, to say the truth, the conquest of Scotland was a project which ambition very naturally suggested to an English King. The dread of hostilities from so numerous a Nation, settled in the same Island in which his own Kingdom was situated, kept him in a state of continual uncertainty or anxiety, and cramped the execution of his designs either for overcoming his rebellious Barons and Subjects at home, or for prosecuting his foreign wars and conquests. The very independency, besides, of so considerable a part of the Island in which he reigned, seemed to cast discredit on his name in his own Kingdom, and was a blot upon the reputation of his power and his arms, on the Continent.

At the same time, the aim of an English King, in a war with Scotland, was not barely to wrest a few territories from that Country, but



to conquer the whole absolutely,—to reduce the King to the quality of a Subject. This design was even openly avowed by the English Kings; and, in order to forward the attaining of it, they had set up a claim (as hath been above observed) of liege superiority and feudal sovereignty over that Kingdom. Now, such a claim produced the effect of making peace almost impracticable between the two Kings of England and Scotland. In fact, a claim of that tendency admitted of no compromise, nor could be qualified in a Treaty.

Another hurtful consequence of this claim of a liege superiority in the English Kingdom, was, that it united the whole body of the Scottish Nobility into a constant hostile confederacy against England. For, had the claim set forth by the English Kings succeeded to be established, the Scots Nobles must, from the station of Peers and hereditary Counsellors to an independent Sovereign, have sunk into the condition of Vassals to a Vassal. With the English Nobles they must have been satisfied to rank as Commoners. And in regard to the English Nation at large, they must have stood in the predicament of a subordinate inferior People.

A state of perpetual war accordingly became the consequence of the situation in which the two Kingdoms stood in regard to each other. The treaties between them never were treaties of absolute peace, but only truces for a time, during which each Nation was watching for proper opportunities, and preparing either for fresh attacks or for defence.

The Kings of England were supported in their enterprizes against Scotland, by the superior wealth and populousness of their Kingdom. The Scots were assisted in their resistance by the natural obstacles with which their Country abounded, by the lakes and hills with which it

is interspersed, by the deep inlets of the Sea with which it is intersected, and also by the really great extent of the Country; all which circumstances together made it next to impossible for a Conqueror to penetrate every part of it. The severity of the weather in that northern latitude, during a considerable part of the year, was another kind of natural defence. And to all these advantages in favour of Scottish independence, we must very likely add other peculiar causes, arising from the internal polity of the Scots, and their manner of living among themselves.

All these circumstances, combined together, must have possessed great efficiency: for, notwithstanding the advantage in almost every pitched general battle remained decisively, to all appearance, on the side of the English; yet, it happened in the issue that the Scots had only been dispersed; their main strength remained unbroken; and on the first favourable opportunities they were able to rally again in great numbers from behind their lakes and mountains, and to drive once more their invaders out of the country.

The project of the conquest of Scotland, which had been begun with so deep a policy, as well as pursued with so much vehemence and spirit by King Edward I. was, as hath been above mentioned, resumed both by his son and grandson, Edward the Second and Edward the Third. All the English Kings, who succeeded these, continued to set up the claim of feudal superiority over the Kingdom of Scotland; and most of them endeavoured to make the same good by military enterprizes. The wars between the two Nations continued till the reign of Edward the Sixth, whose uncle the duke of Somerset, Protector of the Kingdom, gained the battle of Pinkies against the Scots:



Scots: that was the last battle fought between the two Nations before the Union of the Crowns.

A lively description of the lasting contests that took place between the English and the Scots, is contained in the following passage of an historian.

“ And now (the reign of Edward I.) began the contest between  
“ the two Nations, which spilt more Christian blood, did more mischief, and continued longer, than any wars that we read of between  
“ any two People in the world. For, all the Kings which preceded  
“ for three hundred years together, even to the blessed union of them  
“ by king James I. had their share more or less in the quarrel. And  
“ though England, being much the greater and stronger Nation, had  
“ the good fortune often to overcome, yet it was with so great expence of blood, time, and treasure, that what she got cost more  
“ than it was worth; the Scots being never so fully subdued, but that  
“ they were soon for recovering their liberties again, and that with  
“ success. So that, Providence may seem to have decreed no union  
“ should be firm between these two Nations that was made by force;  
“ but only such as should be produced by peace and the milder way of  
“ succession.”

It may be added, as a conclusion, that the Scots were able to the last to assert the independence of their Kingdom. They had not even lost any part of their territory when their wars with the English became to be terminated. It was rather the reverse: for, their Kingdom was advanced on this side of the boundary of the ancient Kingdom of Scotland, which is formed by the northern *Picts'* wall, which runs from the vicinity of Edinburgh towards Glasgow; and they were possessed, at the epoch we mention, of three fourth parts of the territory.

territory that lies between that wall, and the southern wall built in the vicinity of Newcastle by Hadrian ; which territory had more than once been wholly in possession of the English. The limit between England and Scotland, at the time of the accession of James the First, ran, as it now does, in an oblique direction across the space contained between these two walls, almost reaching, near Carlisle, to that on the south.

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## C H A P. II.

### *The State of the two Kingdoms during the reign of James I.*

**A**T length James the first acceded to the crown of England. He was great grandson to King Henry VII. by his daughter Margaret, who had married James IV. of Scotland. His grand-father James V. was consequently nephew to King Henry VIII. and first cousin to the late Queen Elizabeth : there was no nearer heir to the English Crown.

By the accession of that Prince to the Crown of England, a period was put to the bloody struggles, and the contests in the field, between the English and the Scots. But, at the same time, a struggle of another kind arose. A controversy now took place between the two Nations for the advantages accruing from the presence of the common Sovereign, and for the possession of the seat of the Government.

From



From the King of England now being a Scotsman, from the Scots having given a King to England, after having been able through a long course of years to assert their independence, the advantage, as to the article of honour, was undoubtedly on the side of the Scots. But then the real advantage, in that kind of contention, soon turned out to be in favour of the English, in consequence of the common Sovereign choosing to take up his residence among them; a choice to which he was led by the superior importance of the English Kingdom; not to mention the more regular government, and greater degree of obedience to royal authority, that prevailed in it.

Loud complaints soon arose in Scotland about the stagnation of their trade, caused by the removal of the seat of their Government, about the draining of their money out of the country, about their being subjected to English influence, &c. &c. The English, on the other hand, wanted to keep to themselves all the advantages they had acquired. They were besides somewhat anxious to shew, that, from being ruled by a Scottish King, they did not consider themselves as being become subjects to Scotland. The English parliament refused to give a declaration for naturalizing the Scots in England, thereby denying them, as far as it lay in their power, the benefits of an equal trade; and, above all, a great outcry was raised in order to hinder them from obtaining places of profit and trust, and, in short, preferment of any kind.—*They shall eat our Commons bare and make us lean*, soon became to be the pretended universal apprehension. Reflections on the poverty of the Scots resounded from all quarters. And the Scots, in their turn, were not behind hand; we may suppose, in also devising national reproaches, and contumelious retaliations, on the English, among themselves.

We are informed of several of the national reflections thrown upon the Scots in England, in the very Speeches of King James the First to the English Parliament, in which he endeavours, with remarkable good-nature, to answer the reproaches that were cast upon the Scottish Nation. He also earnestly recommended, in these Speeches, an Union of the two Nations: moreover, endeavouring to justify himself on account of the favour he had at first shewn in his Court to several of the Scottish Nobility; which favour, by the by, does not seem to have been either very partial, or very extensive. The following is an extract from one of his Speeches, in the year 1607. “ I owe no more to the Scottishmen than to the English; I  
 “ was born there, and sworn here; and now I reign over both.  
 “ Such particular persons of the Scottish Nation as might claim  
 “ any extraordinary merit at my hands, I have already reasonably  
 “ rewarded; and I can assure you that there is none left for whom  
 “ I mean extraordinary to strain myself, further than in such ordi-  
 “ nary benefit as I may equally bestow, without mine own hurt,  
 “ upon any Subject of either Nation; in which case no King’s hand  
 “ should ever be fully closed. To both I owe justice and protec-  
 “ tion; which, with God’s grace, I shall ever equally balance. For  
 “ my liberality, I have told you of it heretofore. My three first  
 “ years were to them as a Christmas: I could not then be miser-  
 “ able. Should I have been oversparing to them, they might have  
 “ thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren, or that the King had  
 “ been drunk with his new Kingdom. But suits go not so cheap  
 “ now as they were wont. Neither are there so many fees taken in  
 “ the Hanaper and Petty-bag for the Great Seal, as hath been done.



" If I did respect the English when I came first, of whom I was re-  
 " ceived with joy, and came as in a hunting journey; what might  
 " the Scottish have said, if I had not in some measure dealt bounti-  
 " fully with them, who so long had served me, and so far adven-  
 " tured themselves with me? I have given you now four years proof  
 " since my coming; and what I might have done more for raising  
 " the Scottish nation, you all know. The longer I live, the less  
 " cause I have to be acquainted with them; and so the less cause of  
 " extraordinary favour towards them."—From the above extract the  
 reader will perhaps conclude that sufficient justice has not been done  
 to James the First, either as a Speaker, or a Writer.

However, notwithstanding the speeches and exhortations of James,  
 the English Parliament continued fullen and obstinate; and that  
 Prince at length found he had no other means to assist his Scottish  
 subjects, except his prerogative, and his personal power to grant pre-  
 ferment, and privileges respecting trade; which power, in those days,  
 was under no limitation in regard to individuals. To which it may  
 be added, that he caused the Judges to give a declaration, importing,  
 that the *post-nati* of Scotland, that is to say, those persons who were  
 born in that Kingdom after the accession of the King to the English  
 Crown, were of course naturalized. The English Parliament had  
 shewn a reluctance to declare even that. It may at the same time  
 be also mentioned, as being some justification of the conduct of the  
 English Parliament, that the Scots, in their answers or declarations  
 concerning the proposed Union of the two Nations, manifested too  
 great a determination to adhere to their own national distinctions  
 and institutions.

In the midst of this mutual national rivalry and opposition, King James enjoyed a secure power: each Kingdom reciprocally supplying the means of keeping the other in awe and subjection.

The English would not, perhaps, have lived so quiet as they did, under a King that had been sent them from a Nation whom they outwardly professed to despise, if that King had not at the same time derived a capital personal weight among them, from the prospect of the assistance of that same Nation, who was settled on their borders, in the same Island with themselves.

And the turbulent anarchical spirit that had ever distinguished the Scots, must needs have been greatly repressed by a sense of the vast increase of the personal power of their King; who, it must be at the same time confessed, could not be reproached with having been wanting in his endeavours to serve their Nation at large. An idea of the easy manner in which the King of Scotland was now able to govern his native Kingdom, may be formed from the following passage, which is extracted from the same Speech above quoted.

“ This I must say of Scotland, and I may truly vaunt it: here I  
“ fit, and govern it with my pen: I write, and it is done. And,  
“ by a Clerk of the Council, I govern Scotland now, as others  
“ could not do by the sword.”



C H A P. III.

*The alteration that takes place in the reign of Charles I.*

**T**HE reign of Charles I. exhibited a scene quite different. The spirit of reciprocal national opposition gave way, in each Kingdom, to concerns of another Nature. An union was now formed between the English and Scottish Nations: it was at the expence of the Royal Authority.

Historians have observed that the great internal change of circumstances that had taken place in England, about the time of Charles the First, had rendered the situation of the King very difficult; but they have not taken sufficient notice how much this difficulty was farther increased by the accession of another Kingdom. To have two Kingdoms to manage at once: the one (Scotland) full of the spirit of turbulence and restlessness,—and the other perfectly well disposed to imitate the example,—was a task infinitely beyond the skill of Charles successfully to compass.

An union, as hath been above observed, was formed between the two Nations, against that King. And he may be said to have been himself at some pains to bring it about.

The Scots well informed of the discontents that prevailed in England, where no Parliament had been called for above ten years, and being even secretly invited from that Kingdom, rose in arms first: this was in the year 1639.

They rose again in the year 1640.

The English Parliament, the same which was afterwards denominated the *Long Parliament*, was at that time called. The design of the King in summoning that Parliament, was to obtain assistance against the Scots. But the Parliament, when it met, sided with them. They voted pay to the Scottish army. And it was while that army lay encamped in the Northern Counties of England, and in a manner under the protection of the cannon of the Scots, that the English Parliament obtained to be declared perpetual,—that the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud were impeached,—and those provisions in general were made (some excellent, some otherwise) to which Historians have given the appellation of the *famous motions of the year 1641*. It was also during the same period of the presence of the Scottish army, that the English Parliament began those preparations which were soon to enable them to rise up in arms in their turn.

In the year 1642, the civil war began in England. The Scottish army, who had been paid off the year before, but had never been completely disbanded, again assembled and accepted English pay. They marched into England. And as that army had, in the preceding years, served to countenance the political measures of the English Parliament, so it now countenanced their military enterprises, and struggles in the field.

The King, being driven by ill success to extremity, took his refuge into the army of the Scots, who lay encamped at Newark. But they proved true to their English Confederates, and delivered up the King's person to them.

The events that followed are well known. The King lost his life at Whitehall. The Scots, in the issue, quarreled with their English Allies,



Allies, or rather with the prevailing party in England. They attempted, after the death of Charles the First, to give assistance to his Son Charles the Second, whom they proclaimed King of Scotland. They maintained a doubtful and bloody conflict for a few years. And they were at length brought under subjection to the English Commonwealth.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The State of the two Kingdoms, from the Restoration, to the Accession of Queen Anne.*

**I**N the year 1660 Charles the Second was restored. The spirit of national opposition between the two Kingdoms, became to be again in some degree revived in his reign. And it contributed to secure that King's authority, in the same manner as it had formerly strengthened the power of James the First. The family prepossessions of Charles the Second had like, however, to have led him into wrong steps and dangerous mistakes in his government of Scotland: the Earl of Lauderdale pointed out to him what his policy ought to be, in the management of his two distinct Kingdoms.

James the Second had so little wisdom as again to unite the two Nations into serious complaints against him. His very remarkable want of policy proved fortunate to both Countries; and he was expelled without any blood being shed.

The

The English Parliament raised William the Third to the Throne of England. And so sincere were the Scots in their conjunction with the English at that time, so completely did they forget their national rivalry and hatred of English influence and Councils; that they accepted, without hesitation, that King whom the English Nation pointed out to them.

The Presbyterian Sect and Party, in Scotland, in fact decided every thing in favour of William. The continued prevalence of that Party, and their remarkable zealous spirit, during the whole reign of that Prince, proved very useful for securing his power, first in Scotland, and consequentially in England. The favourable situation of affairs in Scotland enabled him in great measure, no doubt, to surmount the great difficulties he experienced from the restless spirit by which his English Kingdom was influenced, combined with the dangerous claim that continued to exist upon his Crown, and the small degree of love that was in general borne to his person.

#### C H A P. V.

*The spirit of rivalry between the two Nations becomes again manifested.  
The consequences which follow.*

**I**N the reign of Queen Anne, the spirit of national antipathy and rivalry again got uppermost in both Kingdoms. One advantageous circumstance at least had followed from the errors committed by the Kings of the House of Stuart; which was, that the  
spirit



spirit of antipathy between the two Nations had been in great measure set aside, or at least had never been carried to any great degree of activity, except perhaps during the first years of the reign of James the First in England. But soon after the accession of Queen Anne, the notions of national rivalry broke out afresh, with a degree of vehemence superior to any thing that had taken place in any former period.

The spirit of national opposition had even begun to be manifested during the last years of the reign of William the Third. It had been very remarkably exerted in Scotland in the establishment they made of that Company that was to form a Settlement at Darien, on the Spanish Main. The avowed design of that Company was to enable Scotland to rival the trade and wealth of England in a few years. The project completely miscarried, after endangering a war with Spain and other European powers, besides being productive of much heat and controversy between the two Nations.

Several circumstances concurred in Queen Anne's reign to invite the exertions of the national opposition. In the first place, it must be confessed that the complaints of the Scots, considered as a distinct Nation and Kingdom, were not without some foundation: the removal of their Government from its seat among them, was certainly attended with prejudice to individuals. In the second place, that party in Scotland who began about those times to build their claims to popularity, on their opposition to England and English councils, were encouraged both by the considerable resistance which the Government of England was then beginning to meet from the Jacobite party, and by the great need in which that Government stood of the co-operation and assistance of the Scottish Parliament.

In order to understand what is here said of the situation of the English Government in regard to the Scottish Parliament, it is to be observed, that the Act by which the Crown had been settled upon Queen Anne, reached no farther than that Princess and her issue. After the death of the Duke of Gloucester, her only remaining child, it became necessary to make another Settlement. An Act to that effect was accordingly passed about the end of the reign of King William the Third, by which the Crown was settled on the House of Hanover. But no such Act was passed in Scotland. A provision for settling the Scottish Crown was yet to be made in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne; nor was any Settlement made in fact untill the Act of Union.

This situation of affairs gave great advantages to that party in Scotland who were at the head of the opposition against England. The Scottish Parliament were, in reality, possessed of a power legally to introduce again the expelled family of Stuarts into Great Britain, and procure a formidable establishment to it. The Son of James the Second, backed with the strength of a Kingdom that had, for a long series of years, proved a match for England, supported by foreign auxiliaries, and abetted by one half, perhaps, of the English Nation themselves, might have been able, after a great effusion of blood, to enrich his followers with English forfeitures.

The danger was great. It was most seriously dreaded in England at the time. And the sense the Scots entertained of the situation of public affairs and of their advantages, caused the spirit of opposition to England, and of national rivalry, to be carried, in Scotland, to a degree of vehemence, as hath been above mentioned, much beyond any thing that had taken place in any former reign. The following



extract from Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time*, will give the reader an insight into the general disposition of the People in that Country, at the period we mention.

“ A national humour of rendering themselves a free and independent Kingdom did so inflame them, that, as there were a majority of seventy in Parliament on their side, they seemed capable of the most extravagant things that could be suggested to them \*.  
“ . . . . All was carried with great heat and much vehemence; for, a national humour of being independent on England, fermented so strongly among all sorts of people without doors, that those who went not into every hot motion that was made, were looked on as the betrayers of their Country; and they were so exposed to popular fury, that some of those who studied to stop this tide, were brought in danger of their lives. The Presbyterians were so overawed with this, that though they wished well to the settling the succession, they durst not openly declare it. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athol led all those violent motions; and the Nation was strangely inflamed †.”

This disposition of men's minds in Scotland also became to be farther encouraged by the doubtful state of the war in which England was at that time engaged against France, which, in the beginning of it, was looked upon as doubtful and very dangerous, on account of the consequences by which misfortunes might have been followed at home, and of the assistance which France, if successful, would have been able to give to the Stuart party.

\* Burnet's *History of his own Time*, Vol. V. p. 164.

† Vol. V. p. 227.

The Leaders of the Scottish Opposition came at once to measures of great violence. A Parliament was summoned in Scotland in the year 1703. A letter from the Queen was read, desiring them to provide for the settling of the Crown in their Country, in case the Queen should leave no issue; and the Settlement that had passed in England was proposed.

Instead of adopting this, the Scottish Parliament resolved that provisions should first be made for settling the rights and liberties of the Scottish Nation, independent on English interests and councils; and moreover declared, that, until these provisions were agreed upon, the Successor to the Scottish Crown should *not* be the same Person that was possessed of the Crown of England: they also added other articles to their regulations, by which the whole authority of the Crown in Scotland was to be transferred to the Parliament, or to a Council named by it, which was to govern during recess.

The Act was rejected by the Queen.

It was resumed the following year (1704) with much the same clauses, especially in regard to the settling of the Crown. The Ministry in England, overawed by the situation of affairs both in Scotland and abroad, and in England too, advised her Majesty, at that time, to give her consent to the Act. None of those great successes that ended afterwards in crushing the power of France, had been yet obtained at the time of passing the Act of the Scottish Parliament we mention \*.

This Act was called in Scotland the *Act of Security*. It was in reality a Bill of exclusion against the Possessor of the Crown of England. Provisions of an actually hostile nature had been also added

\* See Burnet, anno 1704.



to this Act; for, by one of the articles, an order was made for arming and training the Subjects, and putting them in a posture of defence.

The English Parliament having met not long afterwards, the Lords addressed the Queen, "That she would give orders for fortifying *Newcastle, Berwick, Carlisle, and Hull*, and that the Militia of the four Northern Counties might be provided with arms; that a competent number of regular troops might be kept upon the northern borders of England, and in the north of Ireland\*; and that the laws might be put in execution against the Papists."

A Bill was passed a few weeks afterwards in both Houses, which was intitled, *An Act for securing the Kingdom of England from the dangers that might arise from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland.*

By it it was enacted, that the Natives of the Kingdom of Scotland should be reputed as Aliens, unless the Succession to the Crown of Scotland be settled on the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and her Heirs, being Protestants. Provisions were also made for intercepting the trade from Scotland to those Countries that were at war with England; (it may be observed that the Scots had expressly passed an Act for Trade with France :) and Christmas of the following year was the day fixed for the Act to take place, unless, as is above said, the Scots chose before that time to settle the Crown on the House of Hanover. The same Act also empowered the Queen to name Commissioners for a Treaty of Union.

\* Being exposed to invasion from Scotland.

## C H A P. VI.

*An Union of the two Kingdoms is effected.—A sketch of the Treaty by which the same was settled.*

**B**Y the two opposite Acts of the English and Scottish Parliaments that have been above described, war was in fact declared between the two Countries: only, actual hostilities were postponed to the ensuing year; the militia was, in the mean time, training on both sides; and ships of war were moreover fitting out in England, for cruizing against the Scots trade.

Wise and moderate Men in both Countries began to wish more seriously than had been done at any former period, for a more perfect union of the two Nations than that which the union of the two Crowns had been able to effect.

It is at the same time to be observed, that a very great change had now taken place in the situation, both of English affairs, and of the English Government. The very remarkable and decisive successes which the English armies, and those of their Allies, had met with on the Continent, completely discouraged the disaffected party at home, and operated as a bar against that faction in Scotland who were for running to extremities against England. The armed power of England, both by sea and land, had been carried to such a prodigious degree, in consequence of the important war she was engaged in, that Scotland, as a distinct rival Kingdom, had no prospect of successfully opposing it by military exertions. France, from whom Scotland  
might



might have expected assistance, was now totally fallen from that situation in which she stood a few years before, and unable to spare any competent force from the defence of her own frontiers. All the other powers of Europe, within reach of assisting Scotland, were in close alliance with England. That party in Scotland who headed the opposition against England, and had exerted themselves for some years in obstructing every English measure, and defeating the project of an Union, was therefore under a serious necessity to give way. The proposals made by Queen Anne, for appointing Commissioners from both Countries to treat of an Union of the two Kingdoms, were now listened to; and an Act for that purpose was passed, after some struggle, in the Parliament of Scotland, in the same manner as it had been before in the English Parliament.

The first and essential object for which the Treaty we mention was entered upon, was the Union of the two Kingdoms, by incorporating the two Parliaments into one. James the First is mentioned by Historians, in loose general terms, as having endeavoured to effect an Union of the two Nations. Yet, it does not seem that he meant any thing more than a reciprocal naturalization of the Subjects of both Countries: no mention was made by him of an incorporation of the two Parliaments together: it might even be proved, perhaps, that he did not wish for it. The only actual proposal for such an incorporation, previous to the year 1706, was made in the year 1670, in the reign of Charles the Second. Commissioners from England and from Scotland met at Whitehall, to treat on that subject; but as there was no great earnestness on either side, nor in the King himself, to see the project succeed; it was soon given up. The Scots made too high demands: and the English Commissioners did not propose any medium or abatement.

King

King William had some thoughts of an Union between the two Kingdoms. He probably meant an incorporation of the two Parliaments. But he was not very anxious to bring this Union to a conclusion; he having only mentioned it in one of his speeches, as a thing proper to be done at some future time.

In the very beginning of the reign of Queen Anne the project was again taken up. In her first speech after her Accession (in the beginning of the year 1702) she recommended an Union of the two Kingdoms; and an Act for empowering her to name Commissioners for England was passed. The prevalence of that violent party spirit that has been above described, continued to obstruct, especially in Scotland, the accomplishment of the design for some years. At length, in the year 1706, effectual steps were entered upon for framing a Treaty, as hath been above mentioned; and Commissioners met at Whitehall for that purpose. They were thirty-two from each Country; all named by the Crown: the Scottish Parliament having given up the claim they had till then insisted upon, to name their own Commissioners.

These Commissioners agreed about Articles. These Articles were ratified by the two Parliaments of England and of Scotland; and formed the Treaty by which the two Kingdoms became *United*.

The Articles, in favour of the English in that Treaty, were,

I. That by which it was enacted that the English Parliament should become sole Parliament for Great Britain, and that the Representatives of Scotland should come and incorporate with it.

II. The Crown of Scotland was settled on the House of Hanover, being at the same time for ever annexed to the Crown of England.

III. Scot-



III. Scotland was made subject to the paying, in future, the same taxes as were to be laid in England (some limitations excepted).

The Articles, in favour of Scotland, were,

I. A complete and perpetual naturalization of Scottish subjects in England.

II. The whole tax upon land in Scotland, collectively taken, was settled for ever to be only the fortieth part of the amount of the same tax in England (the exact rate is as 48 to 2000).

III. The Scots were allowed to send forty-five Representatives to the Parliament of Great Britain, and sixteen to the House of Peers: in all sixty-one. It may be observed that Edward the First, during the short time he was master of Scotland, and during the forced Union he then made of the two Kingdoms, had allowed the Scots only ten Representatives: that number was accordingly sent: the Reader may see their names in the *Parliamentary History* of England. And the English Commonwealth had allowed the Scots only thirty Representatives, when a second forced Union of Scotland took place, after the conquest that was made of it by Cromwell and his Generals.

IV. The Peers of Scotland were allowed to enjoy in England all the privileges of the English Peerage, and precedence over all Peers of Great Britain created after the Union: the right of voting in Parliament, and of sitting upon the Tryals of Peers, excepted; these latter rights being confined to the sixteen Deputies sent by the Scottish Nobility.

Since the Treaty of Union, some farther regulations concerning Scotland have been made by the Parliament, which it may not be amiss to mention here.

In

In the first Place, the Privy Council of Scotland was abolished soon after the Union: it had been left in the power of the Parliament of Great Britain to continue, or set it aside.

In the year that followed the Union, it was declared by the House of Commons, that the eldest sons of Scottish Peers could not represent Scottish Shires, or Boroughs. This declaration was grounded on the like rule having been followed, as it was said, in the Scottish Parliament: the Members from Scotland in the British House of Commons, took an active part in procuring the provision we mention to be revived. Those eldest Sons of Scottish Peers who happen to have a seat in the House of Commons, have been elected by English Counties, or Boroughs.

In the year 1711, it was resolved in the House of Lords, that Scottish Peers, created Peers of Great Britain since the Treaty, were not to be admitted to sit, or vote, in that House: the Duke of Hamilton, who was created Duke of Brandon in the year 1711, was accordingly not allowed to take his seat. The resolution was grounded on the strict letter of the Act of Union: *only sixteen Scottish Peers were to vote.* This construction had some spirit of jealousy in it: it put the Scottish Peers in a more disadvantageous situation in regard to receiving honour from the Crown than Scottish Commoners, who were undisputable allowed to be capable of being called to the House of Peers by the Crown. The resolution was altered and the exclusion withdrawn, a few years since.

In the year 1709 an Act was passed for making treasons and the tryal of them, the same in Scotland as in England. The law of Scotland was more arbitrary. By the Act we mention a Grand Jury is to find the Bill, and the Petty Jury are to be unanimous in their verdict.



verdict. The law is not so in Scotland in cases different from treason : the majority of the Jurymen is sufficient to form a good verdict : neither is a Grand Jury used in cases of ordinary criminal prosecutions.

Lastly, the *Heretable Offices, Superiorities, Heretable Jurisdictions*, and *Jurisdictions for Life*, which conferred a power of life and death on a very great number of petty Lords and Chieftains, in Scotland, in their respective districts, were set aside by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1746. The continuation of these arbitrary personal privileges and Jurisdictions had been expressly reserved in the Act of Union, it being the 20th article of it. However, the Parliament thought that the justice and national importance of the Act we mention, would justify the infraction made by it to the Treaty of Union. The opposition raised by the Proprietors of these Jurisdictions was overruled : and they were compelled to receive a compensation in money : it was said that only their property was meant to be secured in the Act of Union. Most of the People of Scotland might be said in fact, to have acquired no individual freedom, and but little advantage, by the Treaty, until the passing of the Act we mention. The feudal Tenures of land by *ward-holding* and *Knight-service*, together with their *incidents* and *casualties*, which were another source of oppression upon a numerous class of individuals, were also abolished at that time.

The general advantages which accrued to each Kingdom, respectively, from the Act of Union, may be summed up as follows :

England, by the Treaty of Union, acquired the advantage, That an extensive inlet and settlement for foreign enemies was shut. Land hostilities and warfare were at the same time put an end to, through

the whole Island. And England found herself fenced by the Sea on every side.

At the period itself in which the Union took place, England derived from it the capital present advantage of excluding from every part of Great Britain, a family that had a most dangerous claim upon her Crown: a claim which continued to be respected by a very numerous part of her own People. The Act of Union was to prevent the renewal of those scenes which had attended the struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Scotland, being likewise considered as a separate Kingdom, acquired by the Act of Union, all the advantages of English trade and navigation. She cannot, perhaps, be said to have been gainer in regard to the rate according to which she bears the burden of public taxes; though the case is generally represented so. Scotland now pays the same extensive excises, customs, and stamp-duties, that are paid in England. She is eased in regard to the land-tax; but that is no extremely considerable object, in comparison to the whole of those abovementioned. It may at the same time be said, most likely with truth, that the increase of both their internal trade and their navigation, does more than enable Scottish subjects to bear their increased burden.

Scotland has acquired the same advantages as England, as to perpetual peace within the whole Island in which she is situated. The abolishment of the spirit of rivalry against the neighbouring Kingdom, may also perhaps be reckoned as an advantage in favour of Scotland. At the time when the Union was effected, England had so mightily increased her national power and strength, in consequence of the changes that had of late years taken place in the politics of Europe,



Europe, that Scotland, as a separate Kingdom, was left behind, out of all proportion in that respect. A spirit of national struggle and opposition, and notions of rivalry, could not, in future, be productive of happiness to any individual in Scotland.

And lastly, the Scots, through the Act of Union, have gained the advantages of greater individual freedom, and of a better Government among themselves.

As a conclusion it may be added, that the Union of the two Nations was followed by a circumstance very favourable to the full settlement of that new form of Government which was introduced by it. A few years after the Treaty took place, Great Britain became at peace with France and the whole World, and continued so till about the year 1740; that is for thirty years; two contests of short duration with Spain excepted. From the year 1740, to the year 1775, or thereabouts, when the American struggles began, Great Britain was engaged in no foreign war, but what served to strengthen her internal Government, instead of weakening it. This was a space of full sixty years since the Union: a space of time long enough, though not perhaps too much so, for rooting out such violent prepossessions and affections for certain modes of Government, as are chiefly grounded on national, or party, spirit.

## *On the Kingdom of Ireland.*

### C H A P. I.

#### *The introduction of the English into Ireland, in the reign of King Henry II.*

**I**RELAND forms the third branch, or limb, of the British dominions in Europe; and though a separate island, lies sufficiently near Great Britain, to be considered as an adjacent Country.

There seems, however, to have been little intercourse between Ireland and England, previous to the reign of Henry the Second. There is no account left of any English Settlement having been made in that Island before that period; though several Colonies of Norwegians and Danes were found, who had formerly settled on different parts of the coast. They chiefly inhabited the environs of Waterford and Limerick, and were in subsequent times called *Ostmen* by the English.

In the reign of the Prince abovementioned, Henry the Second, an attempt on Ireland was made for the first time, from the English coast. Historians have given to the expedition from England that then took place, the name of Conquest of Ireland: they have ascribed the honour of it to King Henry the Second; and have moreover conferred upon him and his Successors from that period, a rightful claim to the dominion and obedience of Ireland and its Inhabitants.

The



The fact is, however, that only a Settlement was made on the Irish coast, of the same nature as those which have been formed since on the coasts of Africa, Asia, or America. The first Adventurers were two private Gentlemen, Fitz Stephens, and Fitzgerald. They crossed the Irish channel with about three hundred men; and they were soon after followed by Earl Strongbow, with twelve hundred more.

If the Irish had been united under one King, or common Leader, as the Scots were, when Edward I. attempted the Conquest of Scotland, or if the English adventurers had, on their first landing, alarmed the whole Irish Nation, by loudly proclaiming a design of universal indiscriminate invasion and dominion, as the same Edward the First did, it is not to be doubted that they would soon have been overpowered by numbers, in the same manner as the English garrisons left by Edward the First in Scotland were overpowered, and driven out of the Country.

But Ireland, at the time we are speaking of, was divided into a very great number of independent districts, that had little more connection with each other than what arose from mutual neighbourhood. And those Irish who lived on the Northern or Western side of the Island, did not care much who inhabited, or made settlements, or invasions, on the Southern or Eastern coast.

The English adventurers, besides, found friends in the Country to whom they were welcome, as hath been the case in all the Settlements made by Europeans in remote parts of the World. They even had been expressly invited by an Irish Chieftain who was possessed of the opposite shore (his name was Mac-Dermot): they were to assist him in a war in which he was then engaged; and Earl Strongbow was to marry his daughter.

The

The military operations of the little English army, and of the Irish Ally who had invited them over, proved successful; and the Adventurers were rewarded for their assistance by having lands allotted to them in the Country. They formed a Settlement, or Colony, in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

The report of the advantages which Fitz Stephens, Fitzgerald, and Earl Strongbow, had met with, reached England. A few more adventurers followed, in order to partake of the success; and among them at length, was no less a person than King Henry the Second himself, who chose to come over, to give countenance to the Colony formed by his Subjects. This Prince proved still more welcome to the Irish, than the Adventurers who had preceded him. As he had brought only five hundred men with him, he caused no alarm. The Irish Chieftains were flattered to see so important a Man as the King of the great Island that lay on the opposite side of the channel, to have come among them to pay them a visit. They resorted to him from several parts of the Country, and were proud to make alliance and treaties of amity with him: some even agreed to pay him an annual tribute, for the honour of his future countenance and correspondence. It may be observed, that Henry the Second gave the Irish Chieftains the title of *Kings*; and this style continued to be used by his Successors so late as eighty years afterwards, if not later: the following expressions are to be found in a letter sent by Henry III. to one of these Irish Chieftains. "The King to King Thomond, greeting." (*Rex, Regi Thomond, salutem.*)

Henry the Second, after staying about five months in Ireland, withdrew, well satisfied with his expedition, and leaving his Subjects in possession of some districts on the Eastern coast. Such was the first  
Settlement



Settlement made by the English in Ireland, and the first origin of the dominion which the English Crown has in subsequent times acquired in that Country.

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C H A P. II.

*The state of the English Colony in Ireland, during an hundred and fifty years after the first settling of the same.*

THE Successors of King Henry the Second did not pursue the design of conquering Ireland. Satisfied with having their power introduced into the Island, and recognized in a certain district or portion of it, they made no attempt to extend it farther. The Colony was left to thrive by its own resources and strength; the reinforcements it received during a long series of years, being only the successive and occasional arrival of new English Adventurers and Settlers. The English Settlement in Ireland did not accordingly become extended beyond its first limits. It was rather the reverse. The land or ground occupied by the English Colony, or the *English Pale*, as it was called, reached only a few miles around Dublin, at the time of King Edward the Third; that is, an hundred and fifty years after the first settling of the Colony.

This straitening of the English Pale had been owing to two causes. In the first place, the hostilities committed by the Settlers against the districts by which they were surrounded, had in time raised an alarm,

and

and confederacy against them, which the first Adventurers had not met with.

In the second place, the successors to those persons of English blood, or race, who had possessed themselves of lands at some distance up the Country, had gradually renounced their dependance on the primary Settlement, as they ceased to want its support; which has been the case with all Colonies, whenever they have ceased to derive advantage from their connection with the mother Country: and they had, even in process of time, adopted the dress, the language, and the laws, of the native Irish.

These English families, now transformed into Irish inhabitants, were moreover particularly jealous to oppose the extension of the *Pale* or Colonial territory, and the farther spreading of the English government, and law. They held their lands by Irish tenures, and by the *Brehon*, or Irish law; which, in regard to property in land, and matters of descent, totally differed from the law of England. Now, if the English law had been suffered to prevail, these families must have been dispossessed, and compelled to give up their lands to other persons. In order to secure themselves still farther, and more completely to disclaim any connection with the English laws, they had even assumed Irish surnames, such as *Mac-Yoris*, *Mac-Morice*, *Mac-Gibbon*, &c.

Owing to the circumstances above described, a new class of Inhabitants had arisen in Ireland, distinct both from the English Colony, and the native Irish. It was formed of those English families who had at any time renounced subjection to the English government, either through convenience, or motives of personal interest. The English Colonists used to bestow upon them the appellation of  
*degenerate*



*degenerate* English: I do not know the name which the native Irish used to give them. Numerous Tribes, or Clans, were formed of them, however; who frequently proved very serious enemies, or antagonists, to the English Colony.

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C H A P. III.

*The expedition of Duke Lionel; and the passing of the Statute of  
Kilkenny.*

AT length, in the thirty sixth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, a new expedition into Ireland was projected in England, (A. 1361.) The expedition, this time, was in fact undertaken against the *degenerate* English.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the King's second Son, was the Leader of the enterprize. The motive which induced the Prince to engage in it, was this. He had married the Daughter and only child of William Bourke, surnamed the *Red Earle*, who was possessed of very extensive independent tracts of land, up the Country, but had continued to preserve a connection with the Colonial Government. After the death of the Earl, the next male Heirs had claimed his estates, in conformity to the Irish law; which, being grounded on notions of warfare and defence, did not allow lands to descend to Females. These Heirs had accordingly put themselves in possession of those lands which had been occupied by the late Earl. On that occasions they assumed Irish surnames, by way of farther security; and in short, turned *degenerate* English. Duke Lionel laid claim to those lands, in right of his Wife, grounding his claim on the English Common law: and his coming over to Ireland, was in order to expel

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that

that Tribe, or *Sept*, or Family, or Clan, of *degenerate* English, who had several years before taken possession of them, and had assumed the name of *Mac-Williams*. It may be added that the Duke had married the *Red Earl's* Daughter in England: her Mother having fled thither with her infant Daughter, immediately after the death of the Earl, who was killed while endeavouring to quell an insurrection among his Followers or Tenants. The Duke had been induced to this match, it seems, by the prospect of recovering those extensive tracts of land which had been formerly occupied by the Earl.

The Duke's expedition was in reality undertaken both against the Irish law, and against all those Persons of English blood who had adopted it, and were possessed of land by virtue of the Irish law, and in conformity to the Irish mode of tenure.

Duke Lionel did not so much as dissemble his general hostile intentions. In his progress through the Country, he forbade all Persons of *degenerate* English race to approach his camp. At the same time, those *degenerate* Tribes he had come over to dispossess, proved to be very numerous. They were headed by two Chieftains: the one was surnamed *Mac-William Eighth* (Nether), and the other *Mac-William Oughter* (Farther). They were settled in Connaught. Those lands situated in Ulster which had been possessed by the Red Earle, had been seized upon by a *Sept* of native Irish, belonging to the *O'Neals*, who, at the same time, expelled several English Landholders out of that northern Division of Ireland, and had as little inclination as the new Tribes of *Mac-Williams* had, to comply with the claims of the Duke.

As Duke Lionel had brought from England only an inconsiderable force, and he met with no support within the Country, he was at length obliged to withdraw. Before he finally left  
Ireland,



Ireland, however, he held a Parliament at Kilkenny, while he was encamped there (the King his Father had invested him with the office of Lord Deputy before his departure from England); and he got that famous Statute to be passed, which is known by the name of *The Statute of Kilkenny*.

This Statute is very remarkable: it shews that tyrannical laws are an old evil in Ireland. The intent of it was to reclaim the *degenerate* English, and to bring to obedience by proclaiming laws, those whom force of arms had proved insufficient to subdue.

It was recited in the preamble of the Statute, that the English of the Realm of Ireland, before the arrival of Duke Lionel, were become mere Irish in their language, names, apparel, and manner of living; had rejected the English law, and submitted to those of the Irish, with whom they had united by marriage-alliance, to the ruin of the general weal. It was therefore enacted, that marriage, and *gossiped*, with the Irish, should be punished as high treason. If any Man of English race shall use an Irish name, the Irish language and apparel, or ride without saddle, &c. his tenements shall be seized. If any one claims the Irish or *Brehon* law, he shall be adjudged a Traitor. It was made penal for persons of English race, to allow the Irish to *creaght* or graze upon their lands; or to entertain any of their Minstrels, Rhymers, or News-tellers, &c. &c.

This Statute of Kilkenny has been greatly praised by Sir John Davies, and other Writers, on account of its tendency to *reform* the *degenerate* English. The fact is, that it was no more than a peevish and revengeful expression of the resentment Duke Lionel felt from the opposition he had met with, and the loss of those lands he had come over to claim. The Statute was not to have any obedience

paid to it, out of the small compass of the English Pale. It was, in reality, a declaration of perpetual war, both against the native Irish, and against those persons and Chieftains of English race who were settled out of the limits of the Colony, and had been more or less necessitated to adopt the Irish customs and laws.—Thus ended the second expedition into Ireland.

Sir John Davies, whom we have mentioned above, was Attorney general in Ireland in the reign of James the First. He wrote an Account of the Country, in several places of which he expresses great resentment against the Irish for their refusing to adopt the English customs and Laws. Sir John, being a Lawyer, it was natural in him to wish to see the English laws universally followed. He has carried his resentment against the *degenerate* English still farther than against the native Irish: the following is the account he gives of them, after describing the customs of the Native Irish Tribes.

“ These were the Irish Customs, which the English Colonies did  
 “ embrace and use, after they had rejected the civil and honourable  
 “ Lawes and Customes of England, whereby they became degene-  
 “ rate and metamorphosed like Nabuchadnezzar: who although he  
 “ had the face of a Man, had the heart of a beast; or like those  
 “ who had drunke of *Circe's* Cuppe, and were turned into very  
 “ beasts, and yet took such pleasure in their beastly manner of life  
 “ as they would not return to their shape of Men again: insomuch  
 “ as within lesse time than the age of a Man, they had no marks or  
 “ differences left among them of that noble Nation from which  
 “ they were descended. For, they did not only forget the English  
 “ language, and scorne the use thereof; but grew ashamed of their  
 “ very English names, though some were noble and of great anti-  
 “ quity,



“quity, and took Irish surnames and nick-names.” . . . . This  
 “they did in contempt and hatred of the English name and Nation;  
 “whereof these degenerate families became more mortal enemies  
 “than the meere Irish.” (p. 182, 183.)

Sir John expresses rather too much anger against the degenerate English, for their *scorn* and *hatred* of the English laws. The fact is, that considerations of personal convenience in a remote Country, and especially of self interest, had been the principal motives of the conduct and the *degeneracy* of most of them. Their *mortal* enmity to the English Nation, has perhaps also been exaggerated by Sir John Davies. At any rate, those clauses of the Statute of Kilkenny which have been above recited, were not very likely to make them better friends \*.

\* The Statute we are speaking of, being unsupported by real power, was but ill executed and enforced; and pardons used to be obtained easily enough, it seems, by such persons as chose to come back to the Colony, and apply for them. This practice of granting pardons to degenerate English, used to be greatly blamed by Lawyers in very early times: the following old verse has been quoted by Sir John Davies, who found it written, he mentions, in the White Book of the Irish Exchequer, in a hand as antient as the time of King Edward III.

By graunting Charters of peas  
 To false English withouten les,  
 This Land shall be much undoo.

But Gossipred, and alterage  
 And leeing of our language,  
 Have mickely help theretoo.

## C H A P. IV.

*The expedition of King Richard the Second.*

**T**HE third expedition was undertaken not long afterwards, by King Richard the Second. This Prince landed in Ireland with a very considerable army: but he does not seem to have entertained any serious design; any design, in short, except that of a splendid excursion and amusement, and having considered the expedition as an eligible opportunity of displaying his power and greatness.

The Irish Chieftains acted in regard to Richard in the same manner as they had done with Henry the Second. Though they were unwilling to give up their lands and cattle to foreign adventurers, and to adopt laws which they neither understood nor were used to, they were proud to see an English King among them. As Richard was willing to exhibit his greatness and magnificence to them, so, they were desirous to display their consequence and their urbanity. They flocked to the King's Court from all quarters. No less than seventy-five independent Irish Chiefs the King admitted to his person, and entertained with great splendour. The Earl of Ormond, who spoke the Irish language, and Henry Castil, who had married an Irish Lady, officiated as Interpreters. Four of the Chieftains, O'Nial, O'Connor, O'Brien, and Mac-Murchad, were seated at the King's table, clothed in robes of state. Some were knighted. They, at first, objected to the offer; alledging that every Irish Lord, or King, was knighted, or made a Warrior of, when seven years of age:



age: but being told that they were now to be made so, conformably to the practice adopted among all the famous Nations of Europe, they submitted to the ceremony with much gratitude.

It is to be observed that all these favours were shewn only to native Irish Chieftains. During those feasts and entertainments which the King continued for some time to carry on at Dublin, the *degenerate* English kept at distance: none durst come near Dublin and the Court. They were in fear of the King's army, and of the Kilkenny Statute. However, the young King was not come over with a design to shew severity to any person. He observed, with good-nature, in regard to the *degenerate*, or *rebel*, English, that they had possibly received but too much provocation; which had driven them to seek for the alliance of the Irish. After staying some months, Richard thought of putting an end to his magnificent journey; and he departed, without having increased the English Pale and the sphere of the English laws, or having manifested any intention about it.

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C H A P. V.

*The state of Ireland during the two Centuries that preceded the reign of King Henry VIII.*

FROM the reign of Richard the Second no expedition was attempted from England into Ireland during the space of above two hundred years, that is, till the reign of Henry VIII. and even of Queen Elizabeth, in the latter part of whose reign Ireland

land was universally subdued by force, as will be mentioned hereafter.

During the period we mention, a constant state of warfare continued to take place between the English Colony or Pale, and the whole Country besides; with some intervals however of intermission as to actual hostilities.

The Colony were at constant war with the native Irish, in consequence of their colonial laws and provisions, according to which the *Irishry* were considered as perpetual Outlaws. The Courts of Justice erected within the Pale, allowed them no remedy in cases of trespasses committed against them; nor did they adjudge punishment for slaying a native Irish \*.

The Colony were in a state of perpetual war with the *degenerate* English, in consequence of the Statute of Kilkenny, which, as hath been above recited, had made such *degeneracy* High Treason and Death.

The impotency of this Statute, and in general the impolicy of the measures pursued by the Managers of the Colony affairs, both in regard to the native Irish, and to the degenerate English, soon became conspicuous. An alliance and confederacy took place between these,

\* When a Man had been killed, and the accused party pleaded that the Man was an *Irish-man*, the case was brought to the issue whether the Man killed was of Irish, or English, race. Sir John Davies has quoted two curious Latin records. By the first it appears that one *Williams*, who had killed one *Roger*, obtained his *quietus*, on proving that this *Roger*, notwithstanding the English name he had assumed, belonged to the Irish *Sept*, or Tribe, surnamed *O'Hederiscals*. The other record gives the instance of one *Laurens*, who was sentenced to be hanged, for killing one *Galfred Dovedal*, who was proved, on the tryal, to be of English race. See *Davies*, p. 111, 112.



of a closer nature than formerly. And the consequence at length was, that the Settlement became to be so straitened, that those who were possessed of land on the borders, were necessitated to buy peace from the surrounding Chieftains, having agreed to pay them an annual stipend, which became to be a settled tribute, known by the name of *Black rent*.

Notwithstanding its weakness, the English Colony continued however to exist;—partly because it was well known, that, had an universal combination taken place to effect its final expulsion, it would have received sufficient assistance from England to make the attempt both difficult and dangerous,—and partly, because the Settlement was, in itself, equal in point of strength to any of the numerous Lords, or Chieftains, who domineered over the Island. The Colony, in fact, continued to defend itself by the same means which those Chieftains used to employ among themselves: that is to say, by making alliance at some times with some of them, and at other times with others; whether they were Irish, or degenerate English: occasionally setting aside the provisions relative to the *Irisbry*, or forgetting the Statute of Kilkenny, as circumstances made it necessary.

On the other hand, there were reasons why the English Colony did not extend their acquisitions, nor availed themselves of certain advantages which they might have perhaps possessed to that effect.

In the first place, they continued to receive no assistance from England, whose Government was either engaged in Continental and Scottish expeditions, or was distracted at home by rebellious insurrections, and civil wars.

In the second place, the English Colonists began in time to quarrel among themselves, in their own district. In the same manner as

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a division had in former years been effected between English Subjects, and the degenerate English, so a division now took place in the Colony, between English Subjects of race or blood, and English Subjects of birth, that is, those who were born in England, and had lately emigrated, or rather *immigrated*, into Ireland. Their dissensions went even so far, that two opposite Parliaments were more than once to be seen sitting in different places, anathematizing each other, and promulgating opposite contradictory laws, to be observed by English Subjects in Ireland. It may be observed that some of the English Subjects of blood were possessed of considerable independent districts out of the limit of the Pale, which enabled them to oppose by main force the Government of the Colony, and even sometimes to attempt to call distinct Conventions or Parliaments. The most considerable among them were the Earls of Ormond, and of Desmond.

The Inhabitants of Ireland had therefore, in process of time, become to be divided into four different Classes:

- I. The *Irishry*, or native Irish.
- II. The degenerate English.
- III. The English Subjects of blood, some of them, as hath been above observed, possessed of considerable independent territories; but receiving summons from the Lords Deputies to attend the Parliaments, and attending them occasionally, that is, when it suited them. This attendance in Parliament was the main difference between those Lords, and the *degenerate* English Chieftains, to whom no summonses used to be sent, and who would receive none.
- IV. The English of birth, who chiefly composed the Government of the Colony, and were assisted and countenanced by the English Government.

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In the midst of the complicate quarreling, the promiscuous multiplied warfare, and the temporary reconciliations, that took place between these four Classes, or their Leaders, the English Colony or Settlement in Ireland continued to exist in the same narrow extent for about two hundred years; that is, from the 14th year of the reign of Edward III. when the first open quarrel between the English of blood, and the English of birth, took place, till the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and even, we may say, of James the First.

*It is to be observed, that the division of the Pale, into four Counties, or Shires, was not made till the reign of King Henry the Eighth. The Black-  
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*A general view of the state of Ireland, previous to the final reduction of the Island, at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign (A. 1603.)*

**S**UCH was the situation of affairs in Ireland at the accession of King Henry VIII. (A. 1509.) At the time of this Prince the Pale consisted of no more than four Shires. Though *Munster* had been, in former days, nominally divided into Counties, the People, to use Sir John Davies's expressions, had become so *degenerate*, that no Justice of Assize durst execute his Commission among them. The sneering answer of Mac-Guire, Chief of Fermanagh, to the Lord Deputy, who was proposing to him to accept a Sheriff in his district, has been recorded: "Your Sheriff shall be welcome to me; but let me know  
" the price of his head (his *Eric*), in order that if my People cut  
" it off, I may fine them accordingly."

John Allen, Irish Master of the Rolls, was directed by the Government of the Colony, to inform the King, that his laws were not obeyed twenty miles in compass. It was become a common expression among the Inhabitants of Ireland, to say, that *They dwell by-west of the Law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow* (thirty miles of Dublin).

Henry the Eighth did indeed assume the title of *King* of Ireland, instead of *Lord*, which was the former style, and had caused certain districts without the Pale, to be divided into Counties, or Shire ground. But this division was no more than nominal. The *Black-rent*, that annual tribute which has been above mentioned, continued during that Prince's reign to be exacted from the inhabitants of the borders of the Pale, by the surrounding Chieftains. The native Irish Chiefs even then continued to consider themselves as being so independent, that they made express Treaties of peace with the King and his Lieutenant: Treaties of alliance were more than once made with them, for making war on the turbulent Lords of English race. One of these Chieftains, named *Mac-Gillapatrik*, and Chief of Offory, (in the neighbourhood of Wexford) conceiving himself on a certain occasion to have been aggrieved by the Earl of Ormond, then Lord Deputy, sent a declaration of war to Henry VIII. if he did not punish him: which declaration the Ambassador whom the Irish Chieftain had made choice of, delivered in good Latin to the King, as he was coming from Chapel.

As to the degree of obedience paid to the Government by the Lords and great Subjects of English blood, it may be guessed not to have been very great, from the nature of the covenant entered into by the Earl of Desmond with Henry VIII. in the thirty-second year  
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of the reign of that Prince; which was, that he would suffer the law of England to be executed in his Country, and would permit the subsidies granted by the Parliament (of Ireland) to be levied on his Tenants and Followers.

Such was the state of Ireland during the reign of King Henry VIII. and even during the reigns of King Edward the Sixth, of Queen Mary, and the greater part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Yet all Writers, among them Sir John Davies, whose Work we have mentioned in a former place (p. 40.) agree in speaking of Ireland as having rightfully belonged to the English Crown ever since the reign of King Henry the Second. The Book published by Sir John Davies concerning Ireland, contains a continual contradiction from the beginning to the end. He calls the Kings of England from the reign of Henry the Second, "Absolute Monarchs of Ireland, having in right all Royal and Imperial Jurisdiction there;" he brands the native Irish with the names of *perfidious Rebels, wicked and ungrateful Traytors*, throughout his Book: and all for what? because the Kings of England had conquered their Country: yet, his Book is purposely written to point out the causes why they had *not* conquered it. At the same time it must be acknowledged that Sir John Davies was a Man of very great abilities: greatly superior to the generality of those persons who are usually employed in the management of public affairs; and notwithstanding his contradictory positions and perplexed arguments, his Work contains a deal of scattered truth and information.

The only way to form a true idea of Ireland, and of the dominion of the English Crown and Nation there, previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and indeed of James the First, is by considering the

the English Colony that had been settled on that Island, in the same light as the Settlements, or Colonies, formed by Europeans in remoter parts of the World. It was a Settlement of the same nature as those at Senegal, or Goree, on the coast of Africa; or like Bombay, on the Coast and Country of the Mahrattas; or Madras, thirty years ago, on the Coast of the Carnatic; or the Dutch Settlements in the Island of Java, and at the Cape of Good Hope. But the justest idea that may be acquired of the nature of the English Colony in Ireland, from the times of Henry the Second, to those of Queen Elizabeth, is by comparing the same with the Colony at New York, as it would now stand, if the late Treaty had not taken place, and the Americans, in conjunction with the North-Indians, were continuing to beset its territory, and oppose the extension of the English Government. The North-Indians, in such case, would represent the Irishry; and the Americans would be the degenerate English,—or some of them the English Subjects of blood, according as it might suit them to keep some intercourse with the Government of the Colony. With this difference, however, that the Irishry were the more numerous Nation, and continued to occupy about two third parts of the Island \*.

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\* The Irish, from their peculiar customs, their appearance and dress, were, in regard to the English, a foreign, we might almost say, a remote Nation. When the Chieftain O'Neal went upon his visit and interview with Queen Elizabeth (A. 1562.) he was accompanied, and continued to be attended in England, by a guard of *Gallow-glas*, armed with the battle-ax, after the manner of their Country, their heads bare, their hair, or glibs, flowing on their shoulders, and their linen vests with large sleeves, dyed with saffron. He was received and treated as an independent Chief.

One principal article of luxury among the Irish, was the using a profusion of linen in their dress. In an old regulation made by the Irish Parliament, relative to certain districts



During four hundred years Ireland continued to exist in the state which is here described. Sir John Davies's Work is entitled, *A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the Crown of England until the beginning of his Majesties (James I.) happy raigne*. Among other causes he mentions the inconsiderable forces which were sent by the Kings of England for subduing the Country; in which he is certainly right. But when he proceeds farther, and produces as additional causes why Ireland was not brought under obedience, that the Irish laws and customs were not abolished, and those of England established in their stead, he is undoubtedly wrong.

This method of forcing their laws and customs upon conquered Nations, was never adopted but by such Conquerors as aimed at destruction, and were seeking pretences for it. The Normans, to mention an instance which Sir John Davies himself has introduced, suffered the Common Law of England to subsist, after their conquest, in those cases which did not affect their power and Government. The reluctance shewn by the English Lords against having the laws of their Country altered in a case in which not one of them perhaps was personally concerned, is well known: *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*, was their unanimous declaration. It may be added that the attachment of the Irish to their laws was grounded upon more serious reasons than mere prepossession. They do not seem to have annexed to the right of Property, particularly in regard to land, districts that had lately accrued to the Colony, it was ordained that no person should be allowed to wear above twenty cubits (ten yards) of linen in his shirt. Ireland seems to have been destined from time immemorial, to possess a flourishing linen Manufactory.

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the same ideas as we do. The laws of England, especially concerning *Descent*, were perhaps the strangest laws, and the most repugnant to their manner of living, that could be proposed to them: they should not therefore have been attempted to be forced upon them, especially in a hurry. This is a point which Writers have not perhaps sufficiently elucidated.

Neither were the attempts to abolish the manners and customs of the Irish, a very wise course of measures. The most absolute Kings have found the introduction of alterations in the bare article of dress, to be attended with the utmost difficulty, even in the precinct of their Metropolis, and of fortified Towns. In the open Country, especially at distance, it has ever proved a most dangerous undertaking.

The Laws and Statutes passed against those English persons who adopted the Irish customs and language, and claimed the support of the Irish laws, were not more judicious. Being settled up the Country, and mixed with the Inhabitants, how could they avoid complying with the customs of those Men whose countenance and assistance it behoved them to obtain, and obeying those laws and Governments to which, imperfect as they might be, they must resort for immediate protection? Even in the precinct of the Pale, the Irish language had a constant tendency to become prevalent; and ordinances were frequently made for restraining the use of it. Sir John Davies goes so far as to regret that the *Forest-laws* were not established in Ireland, because those laws, together with their penalties, might perhaps have helped to civilize the Irish. Sir John was both a Lawyer, and a Magistrate. He talks in a very easy manner, of *maistering the Irish by the sword*, and of *breaking them by warre*, in order to make them capable of obedience and good feede: but his opinions, upon the whole,



whole, appear too much like the language of a Man who is intent upon dictating those Laws with which he is acquainted, and extending the sphere of his business and profession.

It may be added, that the Irish Chieftains were extremely well disposed, of themselves, to be governed by the Kings of England. None of that fierce spirit of resistance and rivalry was found among them which was manifested by the Scots, who were a more civilized Nation. Sir John Davies has taken notice of the remarkable readiness with which they resorted to those English Kings (Henry II. King John, and Richard II.) who came over to visit Ireland. They were proud in fact, both to enter into alliance with the King of England, and to pay him a tribute or annual present, as being a greater Man than themselves: a notion this, natural enough; and which, to this day, prevails throughout the East. They were besides particularly pleased with having some dependence on an English King: they considered such dependence, it seems, as forming a kind of connection, or tie, between them and the Nations of Europe, and in short, with the rest of the World. The Kings of England would have acted with more justice, more glory, as well as more advantage to themselves, if they had been satisfied with the quality of Arbitrators between these Irish Rulers or Chiefs: an office to the discharging of which a small force would have been competent, considering the equal manner in which their strength and resources were balanced among themselves. Better customs, and laws more favourable to the improvement of their Country, should, together with proper invitations, have been held out to them; and time trusted to, for their accepting them. Instead of this, Adventurers were poured into Ireland, who, partly by their avidity, and partly by their ignorant laws, rendered pacification impossible.

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Another fact may be mentioned in this place; which is, that Henry VIII. found no difficulty in inducing the independent Irish Chieftains to acknowledge his Supremacy, and the capacity he assumed, of Head of the Church; which is a remarkable fact, and shews that they were not influenced by any violent spirit of innate bigotry and bloody opposition, in regard to religious matters. Some also covenanted with the King to admit English Judges, or *Arbitrators*, in their districts, provided they should follow the Irish laws: which is another remarkable circumstance. Such Arbitrators, or *Orderers*, were accordingly appointed, and directed to let the English law aside, because, it is said in the preamble of the Ordinance, the Irish were not yet sufficiently acquainted with these laws to live in conformity to them. (*Quia nondum sic sapiunt Leges et Jura, ut secundum ea jam vivere possint.*) This was wise policy, though Sir John Davies but indifferently approves of it; and it had been, no doubt, adopted as an expedient to induce the Irish to acknowledge the King's Supremacy.

At the same time we mention, Henry VIII. assumed the title of *King*, instead of *Lord*, of Ireland, which the Kings of England had till then used. Writers on Irish affairs have agreed in supposing that the readiness with which the Irish Chiefs acknowledged the King's claim to Supremacy, though he had no forces in Ireland by which to overawe them, was owing to their being so pleased and dazzled with this new title of King. Sir John Davies hath first suggested this idea; which subsequent Writers have adopted, as they have done all Sir John's other opinions. But it is not likely that the change of a title, or simple word, in a foreign language which they did not understand, might very seriously influence the minds of the Irish Chiefs, and



and affect the nature of their Treaties and Covenants with Henry the Eighth. Besides, it may be observed that the word *Dominus* (Lord) is a higher sounding word in the Latin language, than that of *Rex* (King), which used to be bestowed on the Irish Chiefs themselves: the Latin tongue was the language used in the intercourse with the generality of the Irish Chieftains, as their Priests were able to understand it.

The willingness of the Irish Chiefs to comply with the wishes of Henry VIII. in the affair of the Supremacy, was owing to another cause: it was owing to that Ordinance, or Covenant with them, being passed, that has been above mentioned, by which their native Laws were in future to be respected. The Irish Chiefs and Tribes had now cause to think that the King might be safely trusted to,—that he was determined in future to overrule his Advisers and his Lawyers, and that those national Laws by which Property continued to be insured among them, and those customs which they had imitated from their Forefathers, would no longer be made pretences of, for harrassing them by unjust, ignorant, hostilities, and breaking Treaties entered into with them. Obliging the King, in such circumstances, in regard to his lately assumed Supremacy, they considered as an advantageous bargain.

The true reason of Henry VIII. for using the title of *King* of Ireland, was no other than to set aside, at the same time, the old title of *Lord*, which the Popes had conferred on the Kings of England, in that Bull by which the Sovereignty of the Island had been bestowed upon Henry the Second by Pope Adrian. The King undoubtedly judged, that, setting aside a title which had been conferred by Papal authority, became a necessary measure, when he thought

proper to renounce that authority both in England and Ireland. If the Pope now attempted to take the Sovereignty, or Lordship, of Ireland from him, in the same manner as it had been formerly conferred, his Holiness was to be disappointed: there was no longer a *Lord*; it now was a *King*.

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## C H A P. VII.

### *The final reduction of Ireland.*

**A**T length, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, such an army was sent, and such efforts were made, as thoroughly effected the conquest of Ireland. The English Government, in effecting that conquest, had the best plea for justifying their conduct, that Conquerors can possibly alledge; which was the necessity of circumstances, and considerations derived from their own safety and defence.

The violent measures that had been pursued in the reign of King Edward VI. in order to establish the Protestant religion and liturgy in Ireland, had given rise to a considerable degree of disaffection among all Subjects in that Country: the jealousy had extended to the Irish Tribes; and such a spirit of combination and general opposition to the English Government was beginning to take place through the Island, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as had been unknown in former periods.



This disposition of people's minds offered a favourable opportunity to Philip II. King of Spain, for promoting his hostile designs against England. Partial invasions of Ireland were attempted by the Spanish Government several years before the sending out of their *invincible Armada*. A Spanish Colony, we may even observe, had continued to be settled from remote times, on the South-west part of the Irish coast.

Spain, of all foreign Countries, is the most favourably situated for an intercourse with Ireland. The Spanish coast stretches so far out into the Atlantic Ocean, as to lie to the Westward of most of the Irish harbours. Westerly winds, that is, those winds which mostly prevail in that part of the world, are favourable winds for coming from Cape Finisterre to Cork, Waterford, &c. The Northern Spanish shore in fact lies both East and West of the Irish coast; and Spain is better situated for constant communication with Ireland, than France, or perhaps than any English harbour within the British Channel. Had the Spanish Armada attempted Ireland, they would have made a certain conquest of it. After the miscarriage of that Fleet, another might have been sent, which, assisted by the now universally disaffected Inhabitants, might have met with success. Nay, an army of several thousand Spaniards were actually landed, attended by a Pope's Nuntio, who got possession of Kinsale. And England thus found herself in danger of being beset, on East and West, by the power of Spain, so formidable in those days, and of lying in the middle between the land forces of the Spaniards, then centered in the Netherlands, and their naval strength and armaments, stationed in the harbours of Ireland.

These considerations determined the English Government to make uncommon efforts to secure the possession of Ireland. Very considerable

able subsidies were voted by Parliament for that purpose; and an army of twenty thousand men, completely well provided, was sent, which, assisted by the advantages and power already possessed by the Government in the Country, by successive reinforcements from England, and by other favourable circumstances, effected a complete reduction of all the different Lords and Chiefs who till then had ruled in the Island, after a difficult war, that lasted about seven years.

## C H A P. VIII.

### *The settlement of Ireland, by King James I.*

**H**OWEVER, Queen Elizabeth did not live to see the conquest of Ireland brought to a thorough conclusion: for, the final capitulation with the great Chieftain O'Neal, was not signed till a few days after her death.

James the First is, therefore, to be named as the first English Sovereign who possessed the dominion of Ireland.

At this æra, all violent opposition to the authority of the English Government and Crown, was put an end to. The spirit of Irish resistance was braied, to use the expressions of Sir John Davies, as it were in a mortar, with the *Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, altogether*. Both the degenerate English and the native Irish were alike overcome. The Law now penetrated into every remote corner of the Island.—Justice, the sword having first cleared the way, took the whole



whole Country in her progress, in the same manner as the *Virgo* moves in the Zodiack preceded by *Leo*, as Sir John classically and elegantly expresses it: and the Judges were now enabled to proceed round the whole Kingdom, like Planets in their extensive Orbits; whereas their Circuits had till then been confined to the small precinct of the Pale, like the narrow circle which the *Cynosura* describes about the *Pole*.

At the same time that the power of the Judges and of the English Government was thus extensively fixed, the *leud* Irish laws and customs were abolished, and the English laws established in all cases without exception, through the whole Island. Lawyers had then business enough; and even more than enough. The Harvest was great, to use once more the expressions of Sir John Davies, but the Labourers few (*Magna messis, sed Operarii pauci*); and "the number of the Judges was increased in every Bench \*."

As a further step for the settling of Ireland, numerous Colonies were sent from Great Britain to occupy the lands which had been taken from those Tribes and Chieftains who had been more particularly engaged in the war that had been lately terminated. King James gave uncommon attention to the framing of the Ordinances that were made for the proper settling of these Colonies. Writers have agreed in praising the judicious measures that were adopted, and in considering the zeal and success of the King in that respect

\* The power of the Law and of the Judges, did not become, however, quite so completely established in Ireland, at the beginning of the reign of James the First, as Sir John Davies has described it. Several insurrections took place in this reign, which were raised by Irish Chieftains: though they were quelled without any great difficulty, as their power and resources had been so broken by the late war.

as the most laudable part of his reign. James the First himself used to derive much glory from his capacity of Legislator and Settler of Ireland.

One of the principal precautions that were taken for composing the Country, was that by which too extensive tracts of land were prevented from being in the personal possession of any single Lord or Freeholder, whether native Irish, or of English race. In the province of Ulster, which had been entirely conquered without any capitulation taking place, and the lands seized, in order to their being portioned out by the Crown, no British *Undertaker* was suffered to obtain a greater portion of land than 3000 acres. The design of these precautions was to prevent the renewal of the disturbances and wars that had been raised in former times by the great Subjects of blood, such as the Earls of Desmond, of Ormond, of Kildare, &c. and before them, by the *Red Earle*, abovementioned.

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## C H A P. IX.

### *The rise of the religious dissensions in Ireland.*

THE power of the English Government and Crown being now universally and indisputably established, there was a probability that the enmities of former parties would be in time forgotten,—that those Inhabitants who had been compelled to adopt the English laws and customs, would gradually perceive their advantages, and that  
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a lasting peace might prevail in Ireland. But events had unfortunately taken place within the last fifty or sixty years, that were soon to disturb this peace, and give rise to animosities and contests as obstinate and bloody as those which had been lately terminated. It is here meant to speak of the religious dissensions caused by the introduction of the Reformation into Ireland.

The first attempt to introduce the Reformation into Ireland, was in the reign of King Edward the Sixth. Henry VIII. being satisfied to have his supremacy acknowledged, and the authority of the Pope renounced, did not take any measure to enforce a farther change in the opinions of his Subjects in Ireland. But in the reign of Edward the Sixth, orders were sent for using the English liturgy in all the Churches of the Colony, that is, of those districts wherein the authority of the English Government was acknowledged. Directions were also given for removing, selling, or destroying, the ornaments, and the instruments of popish superstition: and the Soldiers who composed the garrisons stationed in Ireland, were employed for effecting these removals and destructions, which they performed with their usual zeal and alacrity in executing commands of this kind. In the mean time, Sir Anthony St. Leger, the Lord Deputy, was recalled, on account of his not being sufficiently assiduous in promoting the work of the Reformation.

In the reign of Queen Mary, the tables were reversed. The Latin liturgy was reinstated in the Churches, and their ornaments were restored. Protestants were, nevertheless, allowed to live sufficiently unmolested: they were not numerous enough in Ireland, to make persecution a profitable business.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a fresh reverse took place; and the Churches were again denuded of their ornaments.

James the First pursued the same business of Reformation: but as the King's power in Ireland was now so far increased beyond what it had formerly been, so, the measures for altering the religion of the Country were attended with more important effects. The directions concerning the Reformation, sent by the preceding Sovereigns, had only been enforced in the districts and Churches within the Pale: the orders sent by the Council of James the First now extended to the whole Island.

The principal measures that were adopted at the time of that Prince, for raising the Protestant, on the ruins of the Catholic, Religion, in Ireland, were the following:

In the first place, the Colony that was sent from Great Britain, to settle on those lands which had been seized by the Crown, as hath been above mentioned, was formed of Protestants; and a great many of them Presbyterians. A small Colony, formed on the same principle, had also been sent in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to settle on the lands that were taken from the Earl of Desmond, a rebellious great Lord and Subject of blood, when he was subdued and attainted with one hundred and forty of his adherents, some years before the great war against the native Irish. The Protestant party by those means acquired that kind of strength, and weight, which results from considerable numbers. For it is to be observed that there were scarcely any Protestants among the old English inhabitants of Ireland; and there were still fewer (if any) among the native Irish: the Reformation had made no progress whatever in Ireland.



In the second place, the majority in the Irish Parliament was allotted to the Protestant party, through the manner in which the Parliament was now composed, and in which the right of election was conferred on new erected Counties and Corporations.

There had been no Parliament held in Ireland for twenty-seven years before the time we are speaking of, which was the eighth year of the reign of King James the First. The Protestants were so few in Ireland, in Queen Elizabeth's time, that the Government of the Colony could not venture upon calling a Parliament: there was too little probability of getting a majority on the Protestant side, even with the power possessed by the Crown of erecting new Counties and Corporations: this had been the cause of the long intermission of Parliaments that has been above mentioned. The Council of James the First, in the eighth year of his reign, had a more advantageous scope, now that the Island was universally subdued, and a numerous Colony of Protestant Settlers had been introduced, who were in possession of extensive tracts of land. New Boroughs were erected in those quarters occupied by the new Settlers. Even then the Government found themselves, at first, mistaken in their reckoning, through the remarkable ardour with which the opposite, or Catholic, party exerted themselves, especially in the elections for Counties: elections were lost where there was thought to be little danger of it; and even Privy-counsellors excluded. The disappointment was made up by speedily erecting fresh Corporations, or Boroughs, and conferring upon them the right of electing Members. Hence the complaints made afterwards by the Catholic party, that several new Corporations which had sent Members, had been erected, in order to the sending of precepts to them for elections, after the first issuing of the Writs for calling the Parliament.

By this exertion of all their resources, the Government in Ireland obtained a majority in the Lower House. On the first day of meeting, the Members of the Catholic party were found to be 101; and those in the Protestant interest were 125. The Catholic party being both greatly surprised and disappointed at finding themselves the minor number, at first refused to recognize those new Brethren that had been sent them by the new erected Corporations: a scuffle even took place in the chairing of a Speaker; each party putting forth a different person. But as the place of the meeting was in the Castle, as they were surrounded by a Protestant garrison, and all attendants had been dismissed, as well as swords left at the gate, the Catholic party were fain to submit. In the House of Lords, there were four Earls, five Viscounts, and sixteen Barons; in all twenty-five: to them were added twenty-five Protestant Bishops and Archbishops.

In order to complete the superiority of the Protestant party, the penal Statutes that had been passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were put in force. By virtue of these Statutes, no Man who refused to take the oath of Supremacy, could be invested with an Office in a Corporation, or be a Justice of the peace, or a Magistrate. He was not to be a Privy-counsellor, nor to be preferred to any Post in the Government. If a Lawyer, he was not to be admitted to plead at the bar, or to fill the office of Judge. All the higher dignities of the Church, together with Church livings, and Church emoluments, were allotted to the Protestant Clergy, as a reward for their orthodoxy. A weekly fine was also to be laid upon every person who should neglect to attend the Church service.



C H A P. X.

*The formation of the Catholic and Protestant Parties in Ireland.*

*The civil war of 1641.*

**B**Y means of the measures and ordinances we have recited, the Protestant became completely established, to the exclusion of the Catholic Religion. And at that period arose those formidable party distinctions, of Catholics, and Protestants, into which the Inhabitants of Ireland have since been divided.

The Protestant party was, on the one hand, formed by those Colonies that had, of late years, been settled in Ireland. They had on their side the strength of the Colonial Government, which was formed only of themselves, and the majority in the Parliament of the Island.

On the other hand, the Catholic party was formed of the whole mass of the Inhabitants of Ireland, previous to the settling of the new Colonies: for, as hath been already observed, there were no Protestants in Ireland before that time: this will, very likely, induce the reader to think that it was not very wise to try to render the Protestant Religion universally dominant, in a Country so circumstanced.

At the period we are speaking of, the old distinctions of native Irish, degenerate English, English of blood, and English of the Pale, were forgotten, and lost in the general denomination of Catholics. An union was now formed between the Irish Chieftains and Tribes, who, after losing their lands and their laws, were now to lose their religion, and the whole of the old English Colony, whose Lords and Men of influence were now to be deprived of their consequence, whose

Lawyers and Priests were thrown out of employment, while the numerous Commonalty had their Churches taken from them, and were insulted by penalties for not conforming to the religious rites of their Opponents. All were now united together under the common banner of the Catholic Faith, and turned their eyes towards the Protestant party as a common aggressor and enemy.

The resources of the Protestant party, for maintaining their ground in the midst of so formidable a confederacy, could not be in their number; for, though considerable in itself, it bore no kind of proportion to those of their Catholic Opponents. And the advantage they possessed of forming the Colonial Government, and of having a majority in the Parliament, was only a strength of an artificial kind, which, without farther support, could not subsist long. Their real effectual resources were to be in their moderation, and in the support of the English Government. Of moderation, it appears from what has been above recited, that they had but little. Nay, they had none; for, when they found that the English Council of James the First was beginning to use for their sake a wisdom and caution which they did not themselves possess, they proffered addresses against the "grievous sin of granting toleration to superstition and idolatry, and" "of being accessary to the abominations of Popery." On the arrival of Lord Falkland, who had been sent as Lord Deputy, with general directions, it was thought, to pursue gentle measures, Archbishop Usher, in his first sermon before him, took for his text the words, *He beareth not the sword in vain.*

The final resource of the Protestant Reformers lay in the expected support of the English Government: and, since the same had been able to conquer the Island, it was natural to suppose, that, by seriously exerting



exerting again its force, it might be able to preserve the conquest. But should that Government happen to be weakened in its seat by domestic dissensions, should its pressure and weight be at any time lessened, that fire which was kept smothered, must no doubt burst out, and terrible must be the explosion.

In the night of the 22d of October 1641, the Irish civil war began. Violent measures of the kind we are here speaking of, should never be attempted to be justified in writing: I shall therefore leave the sudden insurrection that broke out, in Ireland, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Charles the First, under the whole load of odium and maledictions which Writers have bestowed upon it.

The native Irish had begun the insurrection; and they were joined soon after by the old English Colony, the Lords of blood, very few excepted, and the Catholic Inhabitants of the Pale: the junction had been at first postponed by the miscarriage of the attempt upon Dublin. The Catholic party in Ireland were in reality stretching a hand to Charles the First. But this Prince was not able to see this. While under the pressure of the war waged against him by the English Parliament and by his Scottish Subjects, he continued for years to consider the Irish and their English Confederates, as his enemies, and to give directions accordingly. When he had thoughts, at length, of employing their assistance, in the year 1645, it was become too late.

The Irish Insurgents had on the first onset, as hath been above mentioned, failed of seizing the City and Castle of Dublin. Armies of Scots had crossed the Straits between their Country and the North coast of Ireland. Both the Loyalists, and the Parliamentary party in the Island, continued for a long time to be united against them and their Confederates of English race. Assistance was sent by the English

lish Parliament, as soon as they were able to spare it. Cromwell, with his Generals, in time followed; and an army of above thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, was either transported or formed in Ireland, by which an end was put to the war in the year 1652, and Ireland conquered a second time.

New Colonies were transported into Ireland, in order to occupy those lands which were either taken from the Catholic insurgents, or had become vacant by the destructive effect of the war, and the calamities that attended it. Sir William Petty mentions it as the most moderate calculation, that one third of the Inhabitants of Ireland had perished by the sword, famine, or the plague. Certain Writers have gone so far as to assert that only one eighth of the native Irish were left, at the conclusion of the eleven years war that was terminated in the year 1652. This account may be exaggerated. However, all those native Irish who were existing, in different parts of the Island, at the time of the settlement made by Cromwell, were commanded to retire into the Province, or Division, of Connaught; which lies on the Western coast, and had become desolate, and almost destitute of inhabitants. They were obliged to give up their lands and titles to the Conquerors; and the new lands assigned to each of them were proportioned to the extent of those he surrendered. A certain day was also fixed for them to retire, upon the penalty of death. The whole measure was an event of much the same kind as the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain. With this difference, however, that the Nation of the Moors had, about eight centuries before, been invaders of Spain, and were now driven out of it to a remote Country; whereas, the native Irish had been, time immemorial, in possession of their Island, and had now about one fifth part of it allotted to them.

At



This injunction laid on the Old native Irish, to keep within the limits assigned to them, continued to be very strictly enforced till the Restoration; that is, during eight years. At that period, some among them recovered their lands, in refunding the expences of those Adventurers who were in possession of them: and a free intercourse was re-established between them and the rest of the Island. Still, the Province of Connaught may be considered as continuing to form, at this day, their main Habitation or Settlement.

At the period we are speaking of, the interest and power of the Old native Irish, as a distinct class of Inhabitants, was entirely broken; their numbers being from that time much exceeded by those of the Old and New Inhabitants of British race. They have continued to have consequence, as a distinct Class, by their alliance with the British Catholics, and their continuing to form a considerable part of the Catholic party.

Sir William Petty reckons, that, before the year 1641, the number of the whole Catholic party in Ireland (both British and Irish) was equal to about six times the number of the Protestants; and that, at the time of the Restoration, it was about three times.

The following is the statement given by Sir William, of the number of Inhabitants in Ireland, in 1672.

<i>English Protestants</i>	-	-	-	-	200,000
<i>Scots</i>	-	-	-	-	100,000
<i>Papists</i>	-	-	-	-	800,000
					<hr/>
					1,100,000

Other Writers think that this statement is not quite accurate, and that the number of the People in Ireland, at that time, is somewhat underrated. The total number is supposed, at this present time, to be rather above two millions.

## C H A P. XI.

*The second civil war in Ireland, in King James the Second's time.*

THE Revolution of the year 1689, in England, became the cause of a second civil war in Ireland. It is not quite improbable that the remarkable willingness of James the Second to withdraw from England, was owing to a settled design he entertained of trying his fortune in that Island. The step taken by Charles the First, of trusting himself, in his distress, to an army of Scottish Presbyterians, instead of applying to the Irish, while it was yet time, had very possibly continued to be looked upon in his family, as one of the worst faults he had committed.

In the beginning of March 1689, that is, about two months after he had left England, James the Second sailed from Brest with seventeen ships of war, and landed at Kinsale on the twelfth.

He found the legal Government of the Country on his side. By altering the Charters of the Corporations, in the beginning of his reign, a majority had been procured in the Parliament to the Catholic party. The Earl of Tyrconnel, who was Lord Deputy, had already taken arms in his favour; and met him at Cork, where he delivered up his authority to him.

James the Second soon found himself at the head of forty thousand Soldiers; and with these forces he marched, first to Dublin, then to the North of the Island, where the strength of the Protestant Interest lay. On receiving the news of the Revolution in England, the Irish Protestants had proclaimed William and Mary. They were afterwards



wards assisted by an army from England, which sailed from Chester, in August 1689, under the command of Duke Schomberg; and King William followed, about eight months after (in June 1690) with considerable reinforcements.

James the Second was defeated on the banks of the Boyne. He soon after withdrew in a frigate belonging to the King of France, resigning Ireland to his Competitor, after a stay of about sixteen months since his landing at Kinsale. Considering the almost sure prospect of success he had during the first six months, his miscarriage must have been in great part owing to his want of abilities: but it may be added, that, had he possessed abilities and judgement, he never would have had in his life any occasion to command an army in Ireland.

The war was continued about a twelvemonth longer, between the Generals whom King William had left to supply his place, and the French and Irish forces. At length, the taking of Limerick put an end to the war. The celebrated Capitulation, otherwise called the Articles of Limerick, was signed on the third of October 1691. This capitulation was meant to form the law by which the rights left to Roman Catholics, in Ireland, were in future to be decided, and the Charter by which those rights were to be limited, and at the same time securely established.

The principal Articles were, That the Roman Catholics should exercise their religion in the same manner as they did in the reign of Charles the Second: that they should enjoy the common privileges of Subjects, being bound to take the oath of allegiance to the King, when required: and that they should have a right to have arms about their persons, or in their houses, like other Subjects.

These Articles, or Conditions, of Limerick, continued to be observed in King William's reign; and this Prince constantly resisted the endeavours of the prevailing party in Ireland, for having them repealed. Indeed, the fixed inclination of that Prince for religious toleration, does honour to his memory, and forms the greatest part of his character as a King. He received his reward for it, too. The general opinion which people entertained of his dispositions, enabled him as effectually perhaps as any other circumstance, to go safely through his reign, and to surmount the difficulties with which he was surrounded. Owing to his avowed tolerant intentions, no religious Party was driven to desperation and extremities; and amidst the reciprocal aggressions of the different Sects upon each other, suffering Individuals continued to look up to him as a Protector, or at least a person who wished to be so.

When the Commissioners from Scotland tendered the Coronation oath to King William, for that Kingdom, he stopped them, as they were reading that Article in which the *rooting out of Heretics* was mentioned. He declared he did not mean to bind himself by it, to persecute any person for his religious opinions; and desired the Assembly present, to mark his declaration, and be witnesses to it. This was acting with spirit, considering that he had in a manner but just received his Crown; and with great judgement.

The just line of conduct, in regard to Roman Catholics in Ireland, we have above mentioned, ceased to be pursued in the reign of Queen Anne. Several Acts of the Irish Parliament were passed by which the Conditions of Limerick were gradually violated. And at length the famous Laws of *Discovery* were enacted, by which the triumph of the Protestant over the Catholic party was finally completed, after an hundred and ten years struggle.

By



By these Laws, the Roman Catholics were absolutely disarmed. They could not purchase land. If one Son did abjure the Catholic religion, he inherited the whole estate, though he was the youngest. If he made such abjuration, and turned *Discoverer*, during the lifetime of his Father, he took possession of the estate; his Father remaining a pensioner to him. If a Catholic had a horse in his possession, worth fifty, or an hundred pounds, or more, a Protestant might take the same from him, upon paying him down five pounds. If the rent paid by any Catholic was less than two thirds of the full improved value, whoever *discovered*, or turned Informer, took the benefit of the lease, &c. &c.

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C H A P. XII.

*The rise of the political contests between Great Britain and Ireland*

**T**HREE different periods may be distinguished in the History of Ireland. The first comprehends the time that elapsed from the first introduction of the English into Ireland, in the reign of Henry the Second, to the reign of King James the First; when the authority of the English Government was generally established. The second reaches to the reign of King William: during that period the Protestant and Catholic parties were formed, and alternately triumphed over one another, till the Catholic party was overcome.

From this second period the affairs of Ireland have taken rather an unexpected turn, and different from what one might have thought,

The animosities of former parties have seemed to be forgotten. The struggles between Catholics and Protestants have been suspended, or at least have made little noise in the World. Questions of more general politics have engrossed the public attention; and the rescuing of themselves, as a Nation, from a dependency on England, has become the object of the zeal and universal pursuit of the Inhabitants of Ireland.

Complaints against the interference of the English Legislature, had been made by Individuals, in sufficiently early times, in Ireland; particularly during the sitting of the Long Parliament in the reign of Charles the First: but these complaints had not been generally insisted upon.

In the reign of Charles II. the Act prohibiting the cultivation of Tobacco in Ireland, and the Navigation Act, in which Ireland is expressly named, were passed. These Acts, or at least their constitutional and political tendency, did not yet cause any great discontent in Ireland.

In the reign of King William several Acts were passed, by the English Parliament, in which Ireland was bound. One was intitled *An Act for the relief of the Protestant Irish Clergy*: it repealed the Act passed by the Irish Parliament, in the reign of Charles the Second, *for disabling spiritual persons from holding benefices in England, and Ireland, at the same time*: it was meant to enable those persons of the Irish Clergy who were driven out of their Country by the war in 1689, to be admitted to benefices in England. Another English Act prohibited all trade with France, both from England and Ireland. Another declared all the Acts of the Parliament held at Dublin by James the Second, to be void, without the present Irish Legislature  
being



being consulted. And a fourth English Act was, for *abrogating the Oath of Supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other Oaths*. All these Acts did not excite yet any considerable sense of public dissatisfaction in Ireland: no complaints were made against them in the Irish Parliaments that met in the years 1692, and 1695.

In the following years, however, the political tendency of the above mentioned English Acts, and the national dependence on England which they seemed to evince, happened to engage very seriously the public attention in Ireland. This attention, as well as the general dissatisfaction, gradually increased. And at length, in the year 1698, the famous Pamphlet written by Mr. Molyneux, was published, which is entitled, *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament, in England, stated*. This Pamphlet, together with the high degree of notice that was taken of it by the English House of Commons, may be considered as having been the public opening of the controversy and the political contention between England and Ireland, since the beginning of this Century.

It is to be observed that there was, besides Mr. Molyneux's publication, another fact of a serious nature, though not very generally known at first to the Public, which caused the interference of the English House of Commons. The Irish Parliament, dissatisfied with the above recited Acts that had been passed in England, since the beginning of the King's reign, had transmitted to the King in Council, for his Majesty's Assent, the Heads of a Bill, which, under colour of giving a farther sanction to those Acts, was meant as a kind of precedent, or declaration, for excluding afterwards the authority of the English Parliament out of Ireland. The opportunity of the appearance of Mr. Molyneux's publication was taken; a Committee of

the

the House of Commons was appointed on the 21st of May 1698, to enquire into the Book; and, upon the report of the Committee, the House “unanimously resolved,

‘ June 22, That the said Book was of a dangerous consequence to  
 ‘ the Crown and People of England, by denying the authority of  
 ‘ the King and Parliament of England to bind the Kingdom and  
 ‘ People of Ireland, and the subordination that Ireland has, and ought  
 ‘ to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And that, occasion and encouragement  
 ‘ to forming the dangerous positions contained in the said Book, had  
 ‘ been given by a Bill entitled *An Act for the better Security of his Majesty’s person and Government*, transmitted under the Great Seal  
 ‘ of Ireland; whereby an Act of Parliament made in England was  
 ‘ pretended to be *re-enacted*, alterations therein made, and divers  
 ‘ things enacted also, pretending to oblige the Courts of Justice, and  
 ‘ Great Seal, of England, by the authority of an Irish Parliament.’

The House then, in a Body, presented an Address to the King, in which they enlarged both on the Book and *its pernicious assertions*, and on the dangerous tendency of the proceedings of the Irish Parliament. They concluded with ‘ assuring his Majesty of their ready  
 ‘ concurrence and assistance, in a parliamentary way, to preserve and  
 ‘ maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial Crown of this Realm.’ The answer of his Majesty to this address, was, ‘ That he would take care, that, what was complained  
 ‘ of, might be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired.’

Thus was the political war between the two Countries ushered in,—and the gauntlet thrown by one Party, bravely taken up by the other.

In



In the year 1719, another public important case of controversy occurred. It was the English House of Lords, who interfered this time. A cause relative to an estate was tried before the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, who gave a decree in favour of Maurice Annesly against Hester Sherlock. The House of Lords in Ireland was appealed to: they reversed the decree; and Hester Sherlock was put in possession of the estate. Maurice Annesly applied to the House of Lords in England, for relief. The House, proceeding upon the principle that the Peers of Ireland possessed no power of Jurisdiction, confirmed the decree; and an Order was sent to the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, to cause the possession of the estate to be restored to Maurice Annesly; which Order they were able, after some time, to effect. Hester Sherlock petitioned the House of Peers in Ireland: they ordered the three Barons of the Exchequer, *Jeffrey Gilbert*, *John Pocklington*, and Sir *John St. Leger*, into custody; and sent a representation of the case to the King. This representation was laid before the English House of Peers: who, after addressing the King, to desire that he would be pleased to confer some marks of his Royal favour on the Barons of the Exchequer, framed a Bill, of which the following is an abstract.

‘ Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the sub-  
 ‘ jection of Ireland unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm: And  
 ‘ whereas the House of Lords in Ireland have of late assumed, against  
 ‘ law, a power to examine and amend the Judgements of the Courts  
 ‘ of Justice in Ireland: Therefore, be it enacted, that the said King-  
 ‘ dom of Ireland is subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the Im-  
 ‘ perial Crown of Great Britain; and that the King’s Majesty, by  
 ‘ and with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain,

L

‘ has

‘ has full power and authority to make Laws and Statutes to bind  
 ‘ the People and the Kingdom of Ireland. And be it farther enacted,  
 ‘ That the House of Lords of Ireland have not any Jurisdiction, to  
 ‘ judge of, affirm, or reverse, any Judgement or Decree given in any  
 ‘ Court within the said Kingdom.’ — The Bill having met with the  
 concurrence of the Commons, and received the King’s assent, be-  
 came an Act of Parliament; so that the claim laid by the British  
 House of Peers, to Jurisdiction over the Kingdom of Ireland, was, in  
 case of future opposition, to be backed by the whole power of Great  
 Britain.

In the years 1751 and 1753, another remarkable contest took  
 place. The difference was this time with the Crown. The subject  
 was an unappropriated sum of money, remaining in the Irish Treas-  
 ury, after the expences of Government were paid. Whose property  
 was that money? who was to dispose of it,—the Crown, or the Irish  
 Parliament? That was the question.

The Crown looked upon the money as being its property: and as  
 it was not then wanted, it being time of peace, the Duke of Dorset,  
 then Lord Lieutenant, acquainted the House of Commons, that he  
 was commanded by his Majesty to inform them, that his Majesty  
 would consent that the money remaining in the Treasury should be  
 applied to the discharge of their national debt. The House passed a  
 Bill accordingly; but avoided saying any thing about the King’s  
 previous declaration. The Bill was transmitted to England, and  
 was returned, that is, assented to, with the additional mention  
 however, of the King’s preparatory leave and consent: the addition  
 was submitted to, this time, and the Bill accepted in the Irish Par-  
 liament.

The



The question continued nevertheless to be warmly discussed among Politicians, till the following Session, that is, during two years: it was called the question about the *previous consent*: it was in reality about the property of the money remaining as a surplus, in the Treasury. When the Parliament again met, in the year 1753, the Lord Lieutenant made the same Declaration he had made two years before. The Commons, in appropriating the new surplus money, again avoided taking any notice of the King's previous licence: the mention of it was, as formerly, added by the English Privy Council. The Irish Commons this time rejected the Bill. The Crown then exerted its right, or claim, to the property of the money: and the King, by his letter, took it out of the Irish Treasury. The question was, however, of more importance to the Crown, than one might perhaps at first think. If the Irish Parliament had possessed a right, of themselves, to appropriate the overplus of money in the Treasury, the right to dispose of the whole must have been allowed of course, and the hereditary revenue would thereby have been rendered precarious.

We have recited the woes and oppressions of the Irish Nation; we will soon relate their conquests and their victories.

## C H A P. XIII.

*A short sketch of the political situation of Ireland in regard to Great Britain, previous to the late disputes.*

**B**EFORE giving an account of the remarkable alteration in politics that has, of late years, taken place in Ireland, it may not be amiss to mention the reasons of the constant obedience that had till then been paid by the Irish Nation to the authority of the English Government, and of the long acquiescence of the Irish Legislature in the Supremacy asserted by the English Parliament. For, it is to be observed that even those declarations of the Parliament of England, or Great Britain, we have above recited, were submitted to by the Parliament of Ireland. Those steps they had taken, which had drawn these declarations, were only mere attempts to alter their political situation: whatever public clamour might take place on those occasions, still the declarations and measures of the British Legislature, and of the Crown, were acquiesced in.

In early times, the Irish Parliament and Colony could entertain no thoughts of independence and rivalry in regard to the English Nation and Legislature. That Parliament only represented the four small Shires that formed the Pale. It was summoned for the first time, according to Sir John Davies's account (which is more likely to be true than any other) when an army of Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce, attempted an invasion of Ireland, about 140 years after the first introduction of the English, in the reign of



Henry the Second \*. The Irish Chieftains had nothing to do with that Parliament: nor the degenerate English: neither did those Lords of English blood who were possessed of extensive tracts of land out of the Pale, think the receiving of summons any very honourable circumstance: the Earls of Desmond even made it an express privilege of theirs, never to come to any Parliament, or walled Town, but at their will and pleasure. The Parliament of Ireland, previous to the times of James the First, was in reality no more than a Colonial Assembly.

In the reign of the Prince we have just mentioned, the whole Island having been divided into Counties, and Boroughs erected in these, the Parliament of Ireland may be considered as having then begun to represent the Kingdom. But their consequence could not be such as to enable them yet to think of independence: they stood besides actually in need of the authority of the English Legislature, and of the sanction of English Acts of Parliament and Statutes, for settling their Country. During the Century that followed, Ireland either became the seat of civil wars, or was recovering from the devastation which they had occasioned.

Since the beginning of the present Century, Ireland has acquired great importance as a separate Kingdom and Nation. Ireland is equal, in the numbers of her inhabitants, to Scotland, and possesses some superior advantages in regard to climate and goodness of soil: still, rea-

\* See the Discourse addressed by Sir John Davies to the Irish House of Commons, to which he had been elected Speaker: it contains a very pretty account of the formation of the Parliament of Ireland, and of the designs of its meetings, in subsequent times. It is printed at the end of the second Volume of Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland*.

sons have existed which have prevented there, till these latter times, the rise, or at least the exertions, of that spirit of restlessness and vehement National jealousy which used to take place in Scotland, and has constantly been manifested by those Nations who, being possessed of considerable internal power, have been precluded from being the seat of the Government.

In the first place, the prevailing Interest in Ireland, even after the Catholic party had been subdued, were kept in a constant state of alarm from the numbers and effectual strength of that party. The degree of serious attention that continued to be given to that object, conspicuously appeared from the manner in which the Crown was settled on the House of Hanover by the Irish Parliament. The reader has seen in a former place, how great an advantage the Scots had taken of the event we mention, in regard to the English Nation, and to the Crown: they had stripped the latter both of its legislative and executive authority in their Country. The Irish Parliament, on the first proposal made by the Lord Lieutenant, in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, confirmed that Settlement which had been fixed upon in England; only adding another Act, by which Roman Catholics were disqualified from serving as Members of Parliament, and from voting at elections: they also availed themselves of those particular periods of time, in the same reign, when the present establishment happened to be thought in danger, for obtaining farther laws against the Catholics, and at last those laws of Discovery which have been mentioned in a former place. But they went no farther; even though the quarrel with the English Parliament, about Constitutional Supremacy, had been already seemingly engaged, a very few years before,



before, on occasion of the publication of Mr. Molyneux's Book, <sup>as</sup> hath been above mentioned.

At the same time that the Irish, as a distinct Nation, were thus weakened by their own internal division, Great Britain either continued at peace with the rest of the World, or was so successful in her foreign wars, till the year 1763, that the internal security of her Administration was rather increased through them; her outward force being in the mean time augmented to a degree that precluded all thoughts of open defiance and overt opposition, in any part of the Empire, to the operations of her government.

These were essential disadvantages under which Ireland, considered as a secondary or collateral branch of the Empire, was placed. To which it must be added, that her national Parliament moreover lay in a very disadvantageous situation in regard to the Crown. The Irish Parliament were in possession of none of those momentous privileges by means of which the Parliament of Great Britain had enabled themselves to guide the motions of the Crown, and even at times to over-rule it.

In the first place, the Crown, in Ireland, was not dependent upon the Parliament for its necessary supplies. A fixed revenue had been settled upon the Crown, in the reign of Charles the Second, which it was not in the power of the Irish Parliament to recall; and which was more than equal to the expences of the national Government of the Island. This fixed allowance to the Crown is called the *Hereditary Revenue*: it is formed by the produce of the *Heartb-money* (about 61000*l.*), of the quit-rents (about 65,000*l.*), and of certain perpetual excise duties; the whole together amounting to about 650,000 *l.* annually. The Irish Parliament being thus without a power to stop

the necessary supplies of the Government, either presently, or after the expiration of any term prefixed by them, their privilege of granting money to the Crown did not even enable them to ascertain the time of their next meetings, or at any time to necessitate the Crown to call them together.

Neither had the Crown any want of the concurrence of the Parliament of Ireland for those important objects, the modelling of the army, or the increasing of its numbers. The practice was to have Mutiny Bills for the the whole Empire enacted in Great Britain; and the quantum of the forces also used to be settled by the British Legislature.

To the above facts it may be added, that the Members of the Irish Parliament possessed but a limited freedom of debate. They were in regard to the proposing of New Bills, and of getting them passed, under those restrictions which have of late years been the subject of public discourse, under the name of *Payning's Law*. One of these restrictions was, that the Crown had it in its power to alter their Bills, that is, to select and point out those particular articles to which it thought fit to give its assent.

This situation of Ireland, and of her Parliament, which we have above described, has proved the cause why the contentions of her People for independence have continued, till these latter times, to be confined to debates and to zealous speeches and publications. The Regal Prerogative had, till lately, continued in Ireland upon the same terms on which it stood in England previously to the reign of Charles the First. Such contests as might take place between the Parliament of Ireland and the Crown, used in almost every instance to terminate in favour of the Crown; the Parliament almost constantly giving up in the



the end those points which they had seemed ever so firmly resolved to dispute. As a farther proof of the great preponderance of the Crown in Ireland, and of its independence, it may be mentioned that it had become a constant practice to call a Parliament of that Kingdom only every other year. So constantly was this mode of governing adhered to, that the words *from one Session to another*, or, *the interval between two Sessions*, had become settled words to express a space or term of two years \*.

To shake off the superintendency of the whole British Legislature proved a task of still greater difficulty. The measures entered upon by the Parliament of Ireland with designs of this kind, were only attempts, as hath been above observed, only trials to enlarge their power and consequence. Acquiescence was paid to those repulses which they experienced from the Declarations expressed in sufficiently lofty language, of the two Houses of the British Parliament: and those measures or proceedings by which the Declarations of the British Parliament were afterwards enforced, continued to pass without farther opposition. The legality of the judgments given in the British House of Lords upon causes brought before them from Ireland, was never disputed after the passing of that Act of the British Parliament which has been recited in pages 77, 78. It may also be observed, that, when at a preceding period (the 12th year of King William) an Act was passed by the British Parliament for appointing Trustees to go over to Ireland in order to sell the forfeited

\* Government Accounts were generally cast after this manner. Hence most Writers upon the affairs of Ireland have reckoned the Hereditary revenue of that Kingdom at 1,200,000l, or thereabouts: they mean to speak of the revenue from one Session to another.

estates, the produce of the sale being to be disposed of by the British Parliament, the Act was executed without opposition\*.

The facts that have been above recited give a true state of the political situation and the Constitution of Ireland, considered in the light of a distinct Kingdom, as they stood previously to the late disputes. I mean to speak of the Constitution of fact (*de facto*) merely. It is not my design to inquire into the Constitution of right, or to examine into the doctrines of Mr. Molyneux, or the opinions of Locke, and other Writers on those subjects. There are certain peculiar knots or difficulties in enquiries of this kind, which those persons who have engaged in them have not thought of: hence those contradictions and the visible anxiety which their Writings exhibit. But it is not my design to say more in this place on the subject: I only intend to describe the changes that have of late years been effected in the political situation of Ireland: it was necessary for that purpose to give an account of that mode of governing which was in former years adopted by the British Crown and Parliament, in regard to Ireland, and was, out of some cause or other, submitted to by the Parliament of that Kingdom.

\* Other additional Acts of the British Parliament were passed in the reign of Queen Anne, relative to the disposal of the same forfeited estates. By the Act passed the second Session 1<sup>o</sup> *Reg. Anna*, cap. 21, the forfeited estates in Ireland, unsold or undisposed of, were vested in the Queen, her Heirs and Successors; the money arising from them to be brought into the Exchequer in Ireland, and there to be kept apart from her Majesty's other revenues, to be applied as the Parliament of England shall direct.



C H A P XIII.

*The generality of the People in Ireland become more and more dissatisfied with the supremacy claimed by the British Legislature and Kingdom. The affair of Wood's half-pence.*

THOUGH the Parliament of Ireland had acquiesced under the claims and Declarations of the Parliament of Great Britain, still such acquiescence was not of a very voluntary kind. Those measures upon which they had themselves ventured, and their own Declarations, were proofs of their discontent, and might be considered as protests and standing claims, opposite to those of the British Parliament.

The generality of the People in Ireland also began in their turn to view things in the same light, and to be also dissatisfied with the claims asserted by the British Parliament and Kingdom: the consequence of which claims was to reduce their own national Parliament to the condition of a subject Legislature, and themselves to the situation of a dependent Kingdom, and a subordinate Nation. Mankind do not like to be subjects: they do not like to be dependent: they do not like to be subordinate.

These sentiments of independence on the British Legislature and Kingdom, were not however manifested in very early times by the generality of Individuals in Ireland. The question of such independence appears to have been discussed for the first time in public Writings

tings in the year 1698 ; the time when Mr. Molyneux's Work was published \*.

The first instance of an actual opposition generally raised among all ranks of the People in Ireland, with those notions of national independence we mention, seems to have taken place in the well known affair of *Wood's* halfpence, in the twenty third year of the present century : in which affair Dean Swift particularly exerted himself. This seems to have been the first occasion on which a very general spirit of contention and combination was manifested in Ireland against the British Government. The clamour that was raised at that period was outwardly about the badness of *Wood's* halfpence ; but it is evident that the dispute was in reality a question of politics and independence.

The affair was as follows. A scarcity of copper coin prevailed in Ireland. The Government in London, in order to remedy it, granted to Mr. *Wood* a patent for coining halfpence and farthings for that Kingdom : the patent was to last fourteen years ; and copper money was to be coined, pursuant to the patent, to the amount of 108,000, pounds. A considerable quantity of such copper coin was accordingly coined in England, and sent to Ireland. It did not meet with a favourable reception. It was alledged that its real value was greatly inferior to what it was made to pass for. The Parliament of Ireland addressed the Crown against the measure of sending

\* The above remark agrees with what Dean Swift says in his *Drapier's* fourth Letter. " Within the memory of Man the Parliaments of England have sometimes assumed the power of binding this Kingdom by laws enacted in England : wherein they were at first openly opposed, as far as truth, reason, and justice are capable of opposing, by Mr. Molineux."



the coin; and during their following biennial recess great complaints continued to be made both by Individuals and by public Corporations. This general clamour caused the Patent to be recalled in the issue, as we shall mention hereafter.

The uncommon fervour with which the circulation of *Wood's* halfpence was opposed could not possibly be owing merely to their being bad copper and deficient in weight; supposing they were so. The real cause of the zeal that was manifested on the occasion, was, that the Parliament of Ireland had not been consulted concerning the issuing of that coin. Since money was to be coined purposely for Ireland considered as a separate Kingdom, with a peculiar stamp upon it, it was natural to expect that the separate Parliament of the Kingdom should have been consulted in the affair. Since the Crown itself did not choose to coin that money, as it does gold and silver money for all its dominions,—since the coining of copper for Ireland was to be delegated, and trusted to private Contractors, the Irish Parliament, it was thought, should have been the Delegates, or at least have been trusted with the inspection of the business. These were, no doubt, the secret sentiments of the Irish Parliament; and they were also those of the Public in Ireland.

The above considerations were the real cause of the discontent that was manifested concerning *Wood's* copper money. At the same time little was said directly on that subject. Every thing that might wear the appearance of a claim of independence in favour of Ireland, were dangerous arguments to meddle with, especially at that time. The Act of the British Parliament which had declared Ireland to be a subordinate Kingdom had been passed only four years before the period here alluded to; and the political asser-

tions.

tions and claims of Irish Subjects continued to be watched with a considerable degree of jealousy. The Irish Parliament in their Address against *Wood's* coin, accordingly avoided saying any thing by which they might seem to insinuate that they claimed for themselves a right to coin money for their Kingdom. They insisted upon the badness and lightness of the copper. They added that the circulation of it would be dangerous to the properties of the People; that the granting the power of coinage to private persons had always been prejudicial to the Kingdom: they also mentioned that Wood's patent had been obtained in a clandestine manner\*. By this expression, *a clandestine manner*, they could scarcely mean any thing except that the Patent had been granted without any previous communication with them.

The Address was referred to the Privy Council in England. In the Report which they gave some months afterwards they used pretty much the same caution as the Irish Parliament had done. They avoided to seem to view the question of the coin in the light of a national affair. They took very considerable pains to prove that the halfpence were of a sufficient weight, and that the copper was good. They vindicated the Patent from the imputation of having been obtained in a clandestine manner, since the same had been duly referred to the English Attorney and Solicitor General, and even the Chief Officer of his Majesty's Mint had been moreover consulted. They also made it appear, by a cloud of Witnesses, that a scarcity of copper coin did really, actually, and *bona fide*, prevail in Kingdom of Ireland.

It is not clear whether the British Government, in granting a Patent to an Individual in England to coin money for Ireland, had en-

\* See Tindal, A. 1723.



tertained a design to put some mortification upon the Parliament of Ireland. At the same time it may be remembered that that Act of the British Parliament had been passed only four years before the period we are speaking of, by which the claims of the Irish Parliament to an independent legislative authority had been stigmatized, and in which it has also been "enacted and declared, that the House of "Lords in Ireland have not, nor ought to have, any Jurisdiction to "affirm or reverse any judgement given in any Court in Ireland, "and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords relative to "any such judgement, are null and void, to all intents and purposes "whatsoever."

If the Government of Great Britain secretly meant, by the grant of the Patent, to convey to the World, and to the Irish Parliament themselves, a farther proof of the subordination of the Irish Kingdom, they, in some degree, threw off the mask in that paragraph of their Report, in which they said, that "letters patent under the Seal of "Great Britain, for coining copper money for Ireland, are a just and "reasonable exercise of his Majesty's royal prerogative, and in no "manner derogatory nor invasive of any liberty or privilege of his "Majesty's Subjects of Ireland."

In the Answer that had been given from the King to the Address presented by the Irish Parliament against the Patent, it had also been said, that "the granting of a Patent for coining halfpence and far- "things for Ireland was agreeable to the practice of his Majesty's "royal Predecessors."

The above positions were not, we may observe, quite conformable to facts. It is true that two Patents for coining copper

money for Ireland had been formerly granted. The one was granted in the year 1680, by King Charles the Second, to George *Legg*, Lord Dartmouth: the other was granted to *Knox* by James the Second. But in the passing of these two Patents the King's Attorney General in Ireland had been consulted; the Patents were under the Great Seal of Ireland, and the money was coined in Ireland. These were important facts in regard to which the Patent granted to *Wood* differed materially. *Wood's* halfpence were coined in England: his Patent had been referred to none of the King's Officers in Ireland; and it had been passed under the Great Seal of Great Britain. At the same time it was not absolutely denied by political Writers in Ireland that licences had been occasionally granted to private persons, in former remote times of internal war and public necessity, to coin copper money for that Kingdom, and that copper money so coined had actually been imported during such times from England into Ireland.

However, *the just and reasonable exercise of his Majesty's prerogative*, as mentioned in the Report, and *the liberty and privileges of the Subjects of Ireland*, were not proper topics for Irish political Writers to descant boldly and openly upon at that time. The badness and execrableness of *Wood's* copper coin were the arguments that were zealously insisted upon, together with the innumerable mischiefs that would arise from the circulation of them. *Wood's* halfpence were said to be the *accursed things which the children of Israel* (or of Ireland) *were forbidden to touch. They would run like the plague, and destroy every one who lays his hands upon them.* Dean Swift made it appear that the admitting the halfpence would amount to seventeen shillings in the pound general tax. By the circulation of this *fatal coin* the

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Nation was to be undone for ever. The question absolutely was, whether the Kingdom of Ireland *should be wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated, made a scene of misery and desolation, for the sake of William Wood.* It was also observed that the Trade of Ireland had been restrained and annihilated. Now that the Kingdom was utterly stripped and impoverished, the assistance of *William Wood* was called in, to give the finishing stroke. Like another Goliath, covered with brass and copper from head to foot, he stood with his ax ready at the root. The Grand Jury of the County and City of Dublin, in a presentment they made against the halfpence, said, that the circulation of them would operate *the ruin of themselves and their posterity.* And it appears from Archbishop Boulter's Letters, that he found all sorts of People determinately persuaded that *their estates would be half sunk in their value, whenever Wood's halfpence should pass upon the Nation*\*. In short the topics of the goodness or badness of *Wood's* halfpence, and the scarcity of copper money in Ireland, were debated upon by both Parties with wonderful zeal; though these were not in reality the true causes of the dispute.

Possibly the reader may wish to know what degree of truth might be in the aspersions thrown upon Mr. *William Wood's* copper coin.

The Parliament of Ireland, in their Addresses against the Patent, had advanced, that, from the circulation of that coin, there would be a loss of 150 *per cent.* to the Nation. Several Corporations had addressed against the *baseness* of the money; and the Grand Jury of the County and City of Dublin also insisted upon the same circumstance in their presentment. Dean Swift, in his *Drapier's* Letters, asserted that the

\* The Archbishop had just come over from England at that period, being preferred to the See and Primacy of Armagh.

copper was nothing but dross, besides being deficient in weight: and in an advertisement, or hand-bill, drawn by him in order to defeat the execrable designs of *Wood* and his accomplices, he rates the halfpence as being *six parts in seven below the real value*.

On the other hand the British Ministers, who had taken very meritorious pains to clear Mr. *Wood's* reputation, and ascertain the goodness of his halfpence, and the necessity of them in Ireland, did mention in their Report, that Sir *Isaac Newton*, Mr. *Southwell*, and Mr. *Scroope*, had been referred to, for an assay and trial of the money. That the Assay had been made upon specimens that had, from time to time, been taken from the several parcels coined, and sealed up in papers. That the copper of which the coinage was made was of the same goodness and value with the copper of which the copper money is coined in his Majesty's Mint in London. That the halfpence, when heated red hot, spread thin under the hammer, without cracking. That the halfpence coined by *William Wood*, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in the reigns of King Charles II, King James II, and King William and Queen Mary, considerably exceeded them all in goodness, fineness and value of the copper; none of them bearing the fire so well, nor being so malleable, wasting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value. That, by the terms of the Patent, sixty halfpence of Mr. *Wood's* coinage were to weigh one pound averdupois; and that they exceeded by one quarter of an ounce.

Besides aspersing Mr. *Wood's* copper coin, his enemies in Ireland had also found out that he had, in a former part of his life, been a



*Hardware-man*, notwithstanding he was stilled a *Squire* in his Patent; and that he had been a Collector in Shropshire, where pretending to have been robbed, and suing the County, he was cast and lost his employment. In regard to *Coleby*, who was one of the witnesses who had sworn before the British Privy Council concerning the scarcity of copper coin in Ireland, it had also come to light that he had run away from Ireland twenty years before, having robbed the Treasury there, when he was an under-clerk.

Mr. Wood, on the other hand, did not desert his own cause. Assisted by Wits and political Writers his friends in London, he opposed Pamphlet to Pamphlet, and Advertisement to Advertisement. It was observed that *Wood's* halfpence were current for several months in Ireland with the universal approbation of the People; *who all, to a Man, thought themselves happy in having them.* That those persons who most declared at first against *Wood's* halfpence, were the very Men who intended getting a patent for themselves. That *the Parliament and Privy Council of Ireland, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, the Grand Juries and Merchants, and in short the whole Kingdom, nay, the very dogs were fond of those halfpence, till they were inflamed by such designing interested persons.* And all those who opposed the halfpence were Papists, enemies to King George, and wanted to introduce the Pretender.

The question continued to be debated for a considerable time in this manner. It was Wood *versus* Ireland; and Ireland *versus* Wood. The baseness of the halfpence was the public topic; but the manner of introducing them, the mode that had been adopted of supplying the Kingdom with them, were in fact the real cause of the contention. In the mean time the universal zeal against the halfpence continued.

tinued to increase. Most Towns addressed against them and their ruinous tendency. And a declaration was signed by the Country Gentlemen, forbidding their Tenants to receive Wood's base copper coin.

At length Irish Politicians began to venture out of those cautious limits which they had hitherto prescribed to themselves. Questions relative to the King's prerogative, and to the subordination of the Kingdom of Ireland, began to be publicly discussed: an invitation had been given to it by that article in the Report of the British Privy Council in which the *privileges and liberty of the Subjects of Ireland* are mentioned. The British Government now began to be out of temper; or rather they had been so a long while before, finding that the Patent they had granted, and endeavoured to support, was become useless, though the settled determination of all ranks of People in Ireland against the halfpence. They took the opportunity of certain Writings lately published, to shew their resentment. They resolved upon the prosecution of the Authors; and the new Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Carteret, who still continued in England, was ordered to repair to the place of this Government.

It was immediately proclaimed to the world by Wood and his friends, that the Lord Lieutenant was going over to settle his halfpence. However, his Excellency did not seem outwardly to trouble himself much about them. But, immediately after his arrival, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the Author of a Pamphlet intitled the *Drapier's* fourth Letter, in which the question of the *dependency* of the Kingdom of Ireland had been examined with some unusual degree of freedom. The Author was generally understood to be Dean Swift; but there could be no proof against him. The manuscript copy which was found in  
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the Printer's House, was in a counterfeit hand: and it had been brought, sealed up in a paper, by an obscure messenger, to whom it had been delivered one evening through a window by an unknown person. In defect of the Author, the Printer and his Wife were imprisoned; and a bill of indictment was prepared against the Printer. The Grand Jury would not find the Bill. The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench discharged them in a passion. A second Grand-Jury was empannelled. But here matters took a turn which the British Government, and the Officers of the Crown in Ireland, had not expected. The Grand-Jury, instead of finding the Bill against the Printer, made the following presentment.

“Whereas several great quantities of base metal coined, commonly  
“called *Wood's* halfpence, have been brought into the port of Dublin,  
“and lodged in several houses of this City, with an intention to  
“make the same pass among his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom,  
“we the Grand-Jury of the County of the City of Dublin do *present*  
“all such persons as have attempted, or shall attempt, to impose the  
“said halfpence upon us. And we do, with gratitude, acknowledge  
“the services of all such Patriots as have been zealous in detecting  
“the fraudulent imposition of the said *Wood*, and preventing the  
“passing of his base coin.” (28 Nov. 1724.)

Now, if the Kingdom of Ireland was really in want of copper money for circulation and small payments, why was not such money coined by the King himself, in his own Mint, in the usual way? The delegating the business of coining such money to a private Individual was certainly a slovenly measure: supposing this method of supplying Ireland with copper coin was not adopted from a design to put some additional mortification upon the Irish Parliament, whose  
claims

claims the Parliament of Great Britain had stigmatized a very few years before.

The coining of money is absolutely a contract between the Sovereign and the Public. The Sovereign is a voucher for the true weight and standard of the coin. His effigies, to answer the purpose of his handwriting, is placed upon every piece. He is the responsible Man for the intrinsic value and honesty of the money. To delegate this responsibility to another person must proceed either from distressed circumstances, or from a disposition to insult: it must be either a disdainful, or a skulking, measure.

There have been many instances of Sovereigns who have thus delegated for a time the business of coining money to private persons. But the expedient was evidently adopted from the peculiar difficulty of their present situations. At the same time they could not be so very poor as to be positively unable to pay workmen to coin money for them, and in their names, directly. Their having the business of minting money now executed by the unusual mode of contract, was in order to divest themselves of a responsibility which they were sensible they could no longer afford. They considered the expedient as being a public proclamation of those difficulties they were under, and meant to claim the indulgence of their Subjects for the dishonest coin that was now to be passed upon them. If their Subjects would not shew such indulgence, if they would absolutely be clamorous, then, a proper person, a scape-goat, a bankrupt or Jew contractor, stood before them, a fit mark for squibs and abuse. By such an object being pointed out to them, they were even expressly invited to requite themselves, to be clamorous without fear, and make themselves as happy that way as they chose.

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The expedient adopted by the British Ministers of delegating the care of coining money for Ireland to an obscure Individual, instead of doing the business themselves, was a measure not very unlike the fact of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who offered to the Senate of Stockholm to send them his boot to govern them. If there was no political scheme in the affair, it was a piece of slovenly inadvertence.

It is no wonder that the People in Ireland thought themselves so affronted by the introduction of *Wood's* halfpence; especially if it be considered that they continued to keep a fresh remembrance of the mark that had been set upon their Parliament, and their House of Lords in particular, three or four years before. The whole Nation were set against *Wood's* halfpence as against invaders and common enemies. Not only the Parliament, but also the Privy Council of Ireland, had addressed against them; though without urging any thing besides the great hurt to Trade that would result from the admitting of them. The affair had, from the beginning, been carried on in this manner. A deal of apparatus and noise was made about some things, while other things were meant. The whole affair was in reality a question of national competition, and independence.

Archbishop Boulter, who had been promoted from England to the See of Armagh, and had arrived in Ireland a few days before that Presentment was made by the Dublin Grand-Jury which has been above recited, gives an account of the general state of things in Ireland, in two letters addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Nov. 28, 1724, and Jan. 19, 1725. He mentions *all sorts here being determinately set against Wood's halfpence. The People of every religion and party, here, are alike set against Wood's copper coin.* The

*Men of the best sense and estates* had told the Archbishop that they expected the ruin of their Trade and Manufactures to follow from the admission of the halfpence, as well as the sinking the rent of all the estates. Several Persons in public Offices had agreed with the Archbishop that the admission of *ten or fifteen thousand* pounds worth of halfpence would be of service; *but they dare not say so to any Irishman* \*... All the People are *so poisoned with apprehensions of Wood's halfpence*.

After glancing at the late behaviour, and imprudence, as he expresses it, of the Grand-Juries, the Archbishop adds, he does not see there can be *any hope of justice against any person for seditious writings, if he does but mix somewhat about Wood in them*. He also says, that upon any new occurrence it will still more appear that *the uneasiness about the halfpence is a protection for any sedition that has any thing against the halfpence intermixed with it; so that it is impossible for the Government, in the present state of things, to have justice against any such Delinquents*.

In a subsequent letter, his Grace mentions that the Session of their Parliament is approaching,—that he is apprehensive *there will be a great heat in both Houses, and has no hopes of so much as decent proceedings, except this Nation is thoroughly rid of their fears about the halfpence, and the dread of Wood's copper coin is removed*. The Archbishop moreover observes, that *his Grace (the Duke of Newcastle) and others in the Ministry, are best judges how the Irish Nation might be made easy, and at the same time the honour of his Majesty preserved*.

The Archbishop was fully persuaded that the *Papists and Jacobites* had been instrumental in *spreading this general infection*, and had used *a deal of art and industry in this affair* †.

\* The Patent granted to *Wood* was originally for 108,000 pound sterling.

† See Archbishop Boulter's Letters, Vol. I. page, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 35, 36.



Matters were thus brought to a kind of a serious situation. To continue to support the Patent, and take farther steps from Great Britain for enforcing the circulation of the halfpence, were now dangerous measures. Some steps of that kind had already been taken by means of that Report of the British Privy Council which has been above mentioned. The Patent was declared in the Report, to be *legal and obligatory, and a just and reasonable exercise of his Majesty's royal Prerogative*: all the Officers and Judges in the Kingdom were also *commanded to countenance and assist* the Patent. To endeavour now to pursue the same plan any further, was not unlikely to be attended with some catastrophe. The sending a few more barrels of halfpence to Cork, or Dublin, might have been followed by events of the very same nature as those by which the arrival of the Tea at Boston, was. Matters stood in Ireland, at the period we are speaking of, in a situation very similar to that in which they were in America, in the year 1773.

Whether the British Ministers had final compulsive measures in contemplation, is not clear. One might imagine so, from certain expressions in one of Archbishop Boulter's Letters, in which he says, that in his conversations with the Men of best sense and estates in Ireland, he had represented to them, among other considerations, that *the seditious and clamorous behaviour of many must rather tend to provoke his Majesty and his Ministry to support the Patent.*

However, the British Ministers were wiser than to take up the cudgels too far in favour of *William Wood's* halfpence, in the same manner as was done in the year 1774 with respect to the East-India Company's Tea. They considered the great danger that might follow from a civil commotion being raised so near England, when a new Family had been but lately promoted to the Throne, and only a few

years had elapsed since a Pretender's army had made its appearance both in Scotland and in England.

It was also somewhat more easy for the British Ministers, at the time we are speaking of, to act with temper, than it proved for those who ruled in the years 1773 and 1774. The Tea was sent to Boston with the express purpose of raising a revenue out of it. This revenue was intended to fix the right of the British Parliament and Government to establish such revenue: and the produce, small as it was to prove, was to accrue directly to his Majesty's Exchequer. Ministers could not well desert the project without owning their weakness and inability to accomplish it. But here, the British Ministers designed nothing for themselves. They had acted solely and purely for the benefit of his Majesty's Subjects of Ireland. (They had never openly declared any thing beyond this.) The Subjects of Ireland wanted good copper halfpence. The fact had been proved by numbers of witnesses. The British Ministers had endeavoured to supply them with such halfpence. They had procured an honest Contractor to melt and stamp the money. They had done their part. They could do no farther. If the People of Ireland will not be pleased, it is their own fault. With these considerations did the British Ministers put on a satisfied countenance, and cancel the Patent.

This success did not, however, quite completely pacify the Irish Leaders and Politicians. Like a besieged Troop that has been kept for a long while blocked up, and wants to make a sally on the retiring Enemy, they wanted to pursue their advantage a little farther than the bare sinking of the Patent. They availed themselves of the opportunity of the opening of the Session of their Parliament,



liament, which was now meeting, after a two years recess. The Patent had been revoked about three weeks before that time. In the thanks which were to be given to the King, as an answer to the Lord Lieutenant's Speech, it was proposed, besides the words *his Majesty's royal favour and condescension*, to add, his GREAT WISDOM, *in putting an effectual end to the Patent formerly granted Mr. Wood.* The plain tendency of these words *great wisdom* was to insinuate that the continuation of the Patent would have been an *unwise* measure, a measure of danger. This was no compliment to the Ministers who had granted the Patent. The Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. King), who was an Irishman, and Primate of Ireland, caused the words to be inserted in the first sitting, and in the Committee. The Archbishop of Armagh, who was an Englishman, and Primate of *All* Ireland, caused them to be omitted in a subsequent debate. The same Archbishop communicated to the Minister his friend, in England, the success he had obtained. The Minister, in his answer, informed him he had sent an account to the Court at Hanover, of his services. And the Archbishop, by the next post, desires him to accept his thanks\*.

## CHAP.

\* Possibly the reader may want to know how the Subjects of Ireland were supplied with halfpence at last. In the year 1732 the Lords of Ireland gave a Memorial to the Duke of Dorset, then Lord Lieutenant, setting forth the urgent distress of the lower classes of their People for want of copper coin, and requesting his Majesty's leave to have fifty tun weight of halfpence coined in the Tower of London: the Privy Council of Ireland also made an application of the like kind. The leave was granted. Fifteen thousand pounds worth, or about seventy tun weight, were to be coined. But, by some means or other, the coinage was so much delayed, through some spirit  
of

## C H A P XIV.

*The spirit of National independence rather increases in Ireland. The Laws by which the Trade of Ireland is restrained, are at length openly complained of. The People of Ireland, with the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, unite in demanding a free Trade.*

THE above account of the affair of *Wood's* halfpence has been given at some length, because the question was of a more constitutional nature than it is commonly represented to have been, and also because this seems to have been the first occasion on which a general spirit of opposition to the British Government, and of national independence, was manifested by all orders of Subjects in Ireland.

The same national spirit was also manifested in other respects. The People of Ireland used to express a considerable degree of dislike against Placemen from England. They relished them as little as they did *Mr. Wood's* copper coin. To have Men sent to govern them from another Kingdom they considered as a badge of provincial subjection, and provincial government. This expression a *provincial government* occurs frequently in Irish political Writings. This dislike to Place-

of retaliation perhaps in the British Ministers, that the first coined halfpence were not ready to be delivered till March 1737, as I find in one of Archbishop Boulter's Letters, who had very frequently during that time represented the necessity of dispatch.—Two tun of our copper halfpence are arrived here; and four tun more has “been shipped some time, which we hope speedily to receive; we shall then begin to “issue them,” &c. *March 26, 1737.*

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men from Great Britain did not take its rise at the time of *Wood's* halfpence; but it really seems to have received an additional increase at that period. Archbishop Boulter, after his landing in Ireland, had soon an opportunity to take notice of this national spirit. In a letter he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, some few days after his arrival, he uses the following expressions, "*And I have little to complain of, except that too many of our own original esteem us, Englishmen, as intruders.*"

In the same letter he desires the Archbishop of Canterbury to confer the degree of Doctor upon a friend of his, who is soon to follow him into Ireland: which Archbishop Boulter did not choose to do himself, because, he says, his power of conferring degrees in Ireland is not universally allowed, and he is unwilling to make the experiment *in the present ferment here against the English* \*. It has been mentioned in a former place that the Archbishop had arrived in Ireland only a few weeks before that presentment which was made by the Dublin Grand-Jury against *Wood's* halfpence.

In another Letter the Archbishop speaking of Doctor Hoadly, Bishop of Fernes, who had lately come over to Ireland, uses these expressions, "*He is very well liked here for an Englishman* †." Another Letter contains the following observation: "*And there is no doubt but some occasion of things going as they have has been an unwillingness in too many, to see an English administration well established here, and an intention to make all the English already here uneasy, and to deter others from coming hither* ‡."

\* Vol. I. page 2. † Vol. I. page 273. ‡ Vol. I. page 54.

We are also informed by the Archbishop's Letters, of there being two opposite Interests in Ireland; the English Interest, and the Irish Interest. This distinction and opposition of Interests became manifest even on the Bench of Bishops, and in the Privy Council. In one of these Letters the Archbishop speaks of the *Dublin, or Irish, Faction on the Bench*. And in another he says: "When there is  
 " the least shew of an affair *between England and Ireland*, or where  
 " there is need of impartiality between any contending parties that  
 " may be before the Council, we shall be in the last distress if the  
 " office of the late Chancellor may be not filled from England. . . .  
 " We have found the want of two English Judges in the Privy Coun-  
 " cil, &c. When any thing is transacting in Council that can be  
 " thought to be for the advantage of England, or when any persons  
 " of consideration here may be offended, the best we can hope for  
 " from a Native of this place, is, that he will stay away from Coun-  
 " cil, instead of promoting the King's service by his presence, and  
 " by speaking. . . . We have found by experience, since the Lord  
 " Baron has been the only Englishman among the three Judges, that  
 " things have gone very heavy in the Privy Council here \*."

In one of his Letters to the Minister in England, the Archbishop speaking of Dr. Coghill, a Candidate for a vacant Bishoprick, observes, that " he is a person of abilities and fair character, but as de-  
 " termined a supporter of the Irish against the English interest  
 " here as any body, though with more prudence than many others †."

\* Vol. I. page 194, 195.

† Vol. I. page 283.



The necessity of propping the English interest is often mentioned in the Archbishop's Letters. He, for instance, earnestly advises the Minister in England, to fill the vacancy of the See of Dublin with an Englishman, as the Irish have already a majority on the Bench of Bishops. "I am confident there will be a good deal of murmuring here to have the See of Dublin filled by an Englishman; but I think it is a post of that consequence as to be worth filling aright, though it should occasion murmuring†." The like caution in bestowing the places of Bishops and Judges, Archbishop Boulter frequently recommends to the Minister in England. At the same time also he often mentions the danger of sending any Person from England to fill an Office in Ireland, barely because he is either *restless and troublesome, or good for nothing, somewhere else*, and in short, barely in order to *get rid of him*.

This prevalent disposition of the People in Ireland, to oppose the British interest and British measures, did also visibly appear in the great public encouragement that used to be given to such Patriots as happened to distinguish themselves that way in an eminent degree. A remarkable instance of this kind occurred in times but little posterior to those of Archbishop Boulter. This Prelate died in the year 1744, after having been thirteen times one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. The instance here alluded to, is that of the celebrated Dr. Charles Lucas, who is represented by some Writers as having been a *Goliath of patriotism*, and is denominated by others *the famous Irish Patriot*. The Doctor's popularity had first

† V. I. p. 135.

begun when he was a Common Councilman of Dublin, where he was an Apothecary. By diligently inspecting the City Charters, and examining into antient records, the Doctor had found out that several branches of power that were exercised by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, did not rightfully belong to them. Among those branches of unjustly assumed power, Dr. Lucas reckoned the power exercised by the Aldermen, of choosing the City Magistrates. However, in that respect, *viz.* the power of choosing the City Magistrates, the Doctor's assertions happened not to be perfectly warranted by the Law, as it stood. In other respects the Doctor's observations were better supported. He roused his fellow Citizens to vindicate their just rights; when a warm contest began between the Common Council, and the Aldermen, that lasted two years, and in which Dr. Lucas was the Leader. His endeavours were so acceptable to the generality of the People, that, on the death of Sir James Sommerville, in the year 1746, he received public invitations to declare himself a Candidate for the City of Dublin; to which seat he was accordingly elected. Being now raised to the important place of a Representative of the People, Dr. Lucas directed his endeavours to more interesting subjects than the encroachments of the Aldermen of Dublin. He considered the several branches of the Constitution in his Writings: he vindicated the rights of Irishmen, and pointed out the injuries they had sustained from the usurped interference of the British Legislature. Respecting these different objects the Doctor wrote several Addresses to the Electors of Dublin, and to the Nation. The Government at length became to be seriously displeased with the patriotic exertions of Dr. Lucas. The most remarkable

passages



passages in his Addresses were selected; and the Attorney general was directed to begin a prosecution against him. The Doctor fled to the Continent. There was a considerable degree of similarity between his career, and that of Mr. Wilkes. However, after some time had elapsed, certain changes happened in the politics of Ireland by which a possibility of returning with safety to his native Country was opened to Dr. Lucas: a new vacancy having also taken place, he was invited over, and was again elected a Representative for the City of Dublin\*.

We may observe that the exertions made by Dean Swift against Wood's halfpence, at a preceeding period, had been crowned with similar applause and acclamation. The *Drapier* (this was the signature which the Dean had assumed) was become the universal toast; and his effigies was displayed in every street.

The popularity of Dr. Lucas was afterwards carried to the height by his being the Mover of the Bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments: this was in the year 1768. Before that period Parliaments used to be continued by prorogations during an whole Reign: the same Members of course preserving their places. The Privy Council of Ireland consented to transmit the Bill to England: the duration of Parliaments was by it to be limited to seven years. The Bill was *returned*, that is, assented to, with the addition of one year. The Parliaments of Ireland at that period began to be *octennial*. In mentioning these latter facts I shall observe, that the Government of Great Britain did not perhaps shew any very great degree of sagacity, when they increased the Democracy of Ireland in so important a manner. They not only assented to the above Act, but

\* The Royal Exchange, lately erected in Dublin, is ornamented with only two statues, *viz.* of his present Majesty, and of Dr. Lucas.

must needs have also underhand encouraged the bringing of it in. They were prompted by temporary motives of some sort or other.

In the midst of these prevalent dispositions for national independence of which an account has just been given, it is no wonder that those Acts of the British Parliament by which the Trade of Ireland was restrained, should in time become the subject of controversy and complaint.

The restraints on the Commerce of Ireland had been extended to different objects.

The principal was the exportation of wool, either raw or manufactured. The prohibitions upon that article had begun in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had been successively increased in subsequent reigns.

In the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth the exportation of rams, sheep, or lambs, alive, was prohibited from Ireland. (It was also prohibited from England at the same time.)

In the reign of Charles the Second, prohibitions were laid on the exportation of sheep-wool, wool-fells, yarn made of wool, wool-flocks, and fullers earth.

The above prohibitions had been laid upon England as well as Ireland. Those which were enacted in King William's reign openly avowed a spirit of commercial competition, and a design to advantage the English at the expence of the Irish woollen manufacture. By English Acts passed in the 10th and 11th years of King William, the exportation of manufactured wool was prohibited from Ireland to any Country, *except to England*. A considerable degree of severity accompanied the prohibitions here alluded to. The penalties of



of confiscation and imprisonment, and afterwards of transportation, were added. Persons tried and acquitted by an Irish Jury were liable to be brought over to England, there to be tried a second time. The above English Acts were framed upon the reports made by Committees that had been appointed to examine into the competition between the English and Irish woollen Manufactures. In consequence of one of these reports an Address was presented to King William; to which his answer was "I shall do all in me, lies to discourage the woollen Manufacture in Ireland." *Sabbati, 2 die Julii, decimo Gulielmi Tertii.*

In the reign of King George the First, the same prohibitory laws were farther explained and confirmed.

In the reign of King George the Second, several methods were obviated by which the former Acts had been evaded; and the prohibitions were extended to coverlids, waddings, or other manufactures made of wool slightly stitched or worked together so as to be turned into wool again, to matresses and beds stuffed with combed wool, or wool fit for combing.

Another considerable object in regard to which the Trade of Ireland had been restrained, avowedly for the exclusive advantage of Great Britain, was the Navigation to the Plantations in the West Indies.

By Acts passed in the reign of Charles the Second, and since farther explained and confirmed in every subsequent Reign, sugars, melasses, cotton, indico, coffee, and in short, most, if not all goods, the produce of the West Indies, were not to be imported into Ireland except through Great Britain; that is, except  
they

they had been first landed in Great Britain\*. By these Acts the Navigation from Ireland to the British Plantations was completely discouraged.

Neither could goods, the produce of Europe, either of Great Britain, or Ireland, or any other Country, be exported directly from Ireland to the British Plantations: they must be shipped in Great Britain. (Linen cloth and salted provisions were excepted.)

The same Acts had been extended to most goods the produce of the Colonies in North America; between which, and Ireland, a direct Navigation had also been discouraged by prohibitions of a similar nature with those abovementioned, laid upon certain *enumerated* articles, tar, masts, furs, whale-fins, &c.

The Navigation to the Countries situated beyond the Cape of Good Hope had also been prohibited from Ireland.

The British Parliament, in their dealings with Ireland, had evidently availed themselves of the *right of the strongest*. However, something may be said at least to account for the motives by which they had been directed.

In regard to woollen goods, the British Legislature considered that they were a staple commodity of Great Britain, and the chief source of its wealth. They also considered, that, in applying to this Manufacture, they had been beforehand with the Irish, and that they

\* Rum was excepted from the *enumeration*: probably with a design to favour the consumption of it, in Ireland, in preference to foreign brandy. At the same time rum could not be imported in ships under 70 tons burthen, nor again exported from Ireland in ships under 100 tons: the intent was to prevent smuggling into Great Britain. Foreign brandies were under similar regulations.



had moreover made such improvements in it, as to have rendered it superior to the like Manufacture in any Country. They accordingly thought that they were entitled to keep the Manufacture entirely to themselves. This was not a way of thinking very extensively liberal; but it was a mode of conduct which all kinds of Trades use to follow. All trading or manufacturing Associations, Corporations, *Crafts*, *Callings*, *Mysteries*, *Freedoms*, *Liveries* or *Companies*, claim in favour of their *Freemen* or Members of any denominations, exclusive rights to carry on their established branches of handicraft business: and these exclusive claims are allowed, and made good, to a greater or less extent, by the laws of all Countries, within the precincts of the same States.

The British Legislature, in short, had both claimed and granted a *Patent* to themselves, for the woollen manufacture, at the expence of Ireland.—At the same time, they had made the Patent perpetual.

Glass was another manufacture in regard to which the Parliament of Great Britain had claimed a right of preoccupancy and superior cleverness. The exportation of glass was prohibited from Ireland by a British Act passed in the 19th year of King George the Second. That was the time, it is to be supposed, at which the Manufacture of that article had grown to be of importance in Great Britain, and in short, worth being secured.

The above two articles, wool and glass, were the only articles, it seems, which were prohibited by British Acts to be exported from Ireland to any Country whatever, whether British Plantation or foreign Country. We might perhaps add a third article, *viz.*  
tobacco,

tobacco. There even was a difference between that article, and wool and glass; which was, that these two latter articles might be manufactured in Ireland; only, they were not to be exported; they must be sold and used in the Country; whereas the very culture of tobacco had been prohibited by an English Act passed in the reign of Charles the Second. The motives which might cause the passing of that Act are not very obvious, since tobacco was a commodity in regard to which England aimed at no excellence. We are charitably to suppose that this Act was passed absolutely and directly for the good of the Irish Nation, and that the Legislature in England judged that the cultivation of tobacco ought not to be allowed except in Countries where there is a deal of vacant ground (as is the case in North America), or where the ground is good for nothing else.

In their provisions relative to the Irish woollen Manufacture, and to the minor article of glass, the British Legislators had followed the prevalent instinct or principles of Handicraftsmen and Traders. In the obstructions which they had fastened upon the Irish Navigation, by prohibiting the same with the British Colonies and Plantations, they had followed the instinct of Politicians and Statesmen. At the same time that they looked upon Navigation as being the main sinew of their power, they considered, that power is so interesting an advantage, that the rest of Mankind were probably wishful to take the same from them, and that those who might be successful in depriving them of it, might not perhaps be willing to deliver it back to them. They were also not unlikely influenced by a notion, that power and strength possess more efficiency and security, when rendered compact, and kept collected around a certain centre.

In



In regard to the prohibition laid upon the Navigation from Ireland to the East Indies and the Countries situated beyond the Cape of Good Hope, it may be observed that the same had been extended to all British Subjects and harbours, except the port of London, and the East India Company.

Another restraint on the Trade of Ireland we may mention, on account of the degree of notice that has been taken of it; that is, the prohibition which was laid, in the reign of Charles the Second, against the importation of live cattle from Ireland. The design of this prohibition was to prevent a too great discouragement being put on the breeding of cattle in England. It would very likely have been a better measure only to have continued to check in some degree the importation from Ireland; in the manner it was done at first: which was by prohibiting it only from the first of January to the first of July, that is, during six months of the year. However, when a total prohibition took place, about two years afterwards (anno 1666) no advantage certainly accrued from it to the poorer classes of People in England: neither did the same do any harm to the like classes of People in Ireland. The prohibition had moreover a tendency to lessen a grievance which all Irish political Writers have agreed in considering as the chief cause of the depopulation of the Country, namely, the too great proportion of ground which is given, in Ireland, to pasture and the rearing of cattle. The prohibition to which we are alluding, would not have been so remarkably complained of, if those persons who framed the preamble to the English Act, had not had so very little wit, in every respect,

as to have called the importation of live cattle from Ireland, a *Nuisance* \*.

To continue the apology of the British legislative prohibitions relative to the Irish trade, it may be mentioned that the People of Great Britain were subject to the payment of taxes much more considerable than those paid by the People of Ireland. The British Legislators thought that those taxes must be deemed to be actual restraints on the British Trade; and they were thereby influenced, whenever the interests of the People of Great Britain, and of the People of Ireland, clashed together, to give decisively the turn of the scale in favour of Great Britain.

It may be added that the Legislature of Great Britain had shewn some favour to that Manufacture which was considered as the staple Manufacture of Ireland, and to which the Irish Nation might in fact claim a right of preoccupancy: I mean the linen Manufacture. Linen cloth was excepted from all those prohibitions by which the Navigation of Ireland had been obstructed; and it might be exported from Ireland, in Irish ships, directly to any Country, to the British Plantations, or elsewhere. The same exceptions had been made in favour of salted provisions: another staple commodity of Ireland. Irish linen cloth paid no duty when imported into Great Britain; and, on being re-exported from thence, the same bounty was paid as for exporting British linen.

\* It is not unlikely that the framing of the Act was in some measure an affair of party, and that the secret intention of the promoters of it was to bring either mortification, or loss, upon certain persons. Lord Ossory, Son to the Duke of Ormond, challenged the Duke of Buckingham for some expressions the Duke had used in a debate upon the Bill. The Duke of Buckingham had said that "none would oppose the Bill but such as had Irish Estates, or Irish understandings."—Lord Ossory was sent to the Tower.



Irish Ships, navigated with Irish Subjects, were considered as British Ships, and had the same privileges and abatement of duties allowed to them.

The same bounties were paid to Ships fitted out from Ireland for the Newfoundland, or Greenland fishery, as were paid to British Ships; *provided they should return to some port in England.* The Acts which had allowed these bounties had been framed in the same spirit by which the other Acts concerning the Navigation of Ireland had been directed.

The sum of the commercial restraints that had been laid upon the People of Ireland, was as follows.

I. They could not export raw wool.

II. They could not manufacture wool, or glass, for exportation; but were restrained to their own home market for the chance of selling these articles of their own manufacture.

III. They were discouraged from navigating to, and from, the British Colonies in the West Indies, and North America, by being obliged to go circuitously through the ports of Great Britain.

IV. A few articles, such as linen cloth, salted provisions, and rum, had been excepted from these latter restraints: but on the other hand, as a compensation for this, the People of Ireland were prohibited from procuring sugars, even from foreign Countries or Plantations. This commodity, of whatever growth it might be, could not be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain. This additional restraint, relative to foreign sugars, has been omitted to be mentioned in the preceding pages: without it, the British West India Colonies would have been injured by the British Acts, and no benefit have accrued to the Navigation of Great Britain.

V. The People of Ireland lay under the common and general prohibition against sending Ships to the East Indies.

The favours which the Parliament of Great Britain had shewn to the Trade of Ireland, were certainly not an equivalent compensation for the obstructions by which they had clogged it. At the same time, these obstructions had never been made the subject of any declared and national complaint in Ireland. The questions of the commercial restraints of Ireland, and of the interference of the British Parliament in Irish concerns, had continued to be discussed only in the private speeches of Politicians, or in the Writings of Individuals. Sir William Petty first attempted to touch, in a general manner, on those questions. Mr. Molyneux came after him: though he chose to say but very little on the subject of Trade, and preferred to confine himself to the general questions of Politics. Dean Swift, in his *Drapier's Letters*, glanced at both subjects. And, in a subsequent time, Mr. Charles Lucas debated the two questions in the Writings and Addresses to the People, published by him in his private capacity. Many Authors of less note might also be mentioned.

But no steps of a national and general kind were ever entered upon, in order to effect the removal of those Laws by which the Trade of Ireland was prohibited or restrained. There was too small a prospect of success. It was taken too much for granted that the British Legislature would defend with the utmost degree of seriousness, both those Acts which they had passed, and their claim to continue to pass similar Acts in future. The Prerogative of the Crown had upon certain occasions been disputed in Ireland, in the course of  
this



this Century; but Acts of the whole British Legislature had never been opposed.

In the year 1778 a different course of measures began to be adopted. The opportunity was deemed favourable for procuring the removal of those restraints by which the Trade of Ireland was clogged. The public discontent began to be manifested with symptoms very different from those which had attended the complaints made at any former period.

In the Parliament which had met about the end of the year 1777, the disadvantages under which the Trade of Ireland lay, had been remarked upon with a considerable degree of warmth. After the rise of the Parliament the subject was now taken up by the generality of the People. The same moreover engaged the attention of public Meetings, and Corporations. Melancholy pictures were drawn of the deplorable condition of the Country, of the fallen price of its lands and rents, of the ruinous state of its Manufactures, of the general decline of the spirit of industry, and the stagnation of Trade and credit. All those circumstances of public impoverishment which most Irish political Writers have described and attributed to various causes, were now represented as proceeding from those restraints which had been laid on the Trade of Ireland by the British Legislature.

Some temporary causes of public distress certainly existed at the time we are speaking of. The War with the American Colonies, to which a considerable quantity of linen used to be exported, caused that important Market to be shut up. That general stagnation of Trade and Manufactures, which is the usual consequence of War and national difficulties, was experienced in Ireland. The like was  
also

also felt in England. The depredations of the Enemy's Privateers, especially since France had joined in the war, moreover proved the means of losses to Individuals.

The embargo which had been laid upon the exportation of provisions from Ireland was also complained of in a remarkable manner. The design of this embargo was to prevent the Enemies of the State from being supplied with the means of subsistence for their Fleets: The loss to that branch of the Irish Trade was compensated by the purchases made for the English Navy and Ships of war, which were all victualled from Ireland. Besides, the keeping of provisions within any Country can scarcely be mentioned as one important public cause of its distress.

It may in general be observed, that the removing of those restraints on the Trade of Ireland which were now complained of from all quarters, was no very probable means of easing the present temporary difficulties of the Irish Nation. To undertake to establish new Manufactures in the glass and woollen branches, were but indifferent expedients, when the Linen Manufacture, in which they excelled, was in a stagnating state, for want of sale. Neither was the beginning of a direct Navigation to the East and West Indies likely to turn out profitable enterprizes and remedies, when the Sea swarmed with Enemy's Ships of war and Privateers.

As to those lasting distresses of Ireland, which most Irish political Writers and public Speakers have described, perhaps with exaggeration, they could not receive any considerable relief from the repeal of those restraints which lay on the external Trade of Ireland. These restraints, though hurtful, were not yet so in any very calamitous degree. Many Nations have lived in a tolerable state of prosperity,



prosperity, and without complaining, though they used to send no Ships to the East or West Indies,—though they manufactured neither wool nor glass for exportation,—and though they met with difficulties in procuring the articles of melasses and sugar. Be pleased to observe that sugar was retailed in Ireland as cheap as in any Country, perhaps, on the Continent; and somewhat cheaper than in Great Britain, owing to a certain drawback paid upon it, when re-exported from Great Britain into Ireland.—Tea was to be had in Ireland, free from the heavy British excise duties, and also from the Custom-house duties; these latter being drawn back on re-exportation to Ireland.

Wool and Glass, Sugar and East India commodities, were the only articles in regard to which the Trade of Ireland was in reality restrained. Wool and glass, from exportation: Sugar and East India commodities, from *direct* importation: to which add the article of tobacco, from cultivation.

*Foreign* hops were indeed named in three or four Acts of the British Parliament with relation to Ireland; but the provisions which these Acts contained might scarcely be called restraints: they rather tended to encourage the culture of that commodity in Ireland. Hops might be *exported* from Ireland to all parts: at the same time they could not be *imported* from any Country except Great Britain: in which case they were charged with the whole duty paid in Great Britain, as no drawback was allowed. Regulations had also been made concerning *foreign* spirits: but they went no further than to provide that foreign spirits and brandy should not be imported into, or re-exported from, Ireland, in ships under 100 tons burthen.

A great number of Acts had been at different times passed for regulating the Trade of Ireland with the Colonies in North America,

rica, in the West Indies, and in Africa. But, though these Acts might swell the Code of the British Laws and Statutes relative to the Trade of Ireland, their general tendency was rather to alleviate the restraints that had formerly been laid on the Irish Trade with those quarters, by occasionally excepting certain articles out of the lists or *enumerations* of those which were prohibited from *direct*, either importation or exportation. The design of these exceptions was not, however, so much to benefit Ireland, immediately, as it was to introduce some degree of combination and reciprocity between the Trade of Ireland, and that of the Colonies.

The Acts against the importation of live cattle and salted provisions from Ireland into Great Britain, had been repealed; and the Act for the introduction of those articles, and of all kinds of salted provisions in general, duty-free, had been made perpetual.

Linen cloth of Irish manufacture was imported into Great Britain without any duty being paid. On the other hand, the Irish linen Manufacturers did complain, and with some truth, it seems, that they had not fully received that encouragement which had been promised from Great Britain, when the Irish woollen Manufacture was discouraged. Great Britain had not confined her consumption to the linen cloth of Ireland; but had given welcome admission to linens of foreign Manufacture. She had laid a duty on Irish stained linen, and also upon sail cloth of the Manufacture of Ireland\*. Irish Politicians, at the present period, had even become so accurate in their observations as to have taken notice of a fact that came out when the Parliamentary enquiry about Green-

\* Sail cloth was, no doubt, considered by the British Legislators as being an *imperial* article, which they wanted to keep to themselves, as well as Navigation.



wich Hospital took place; which was that the sheeting used in the Hospital, was Russia, not Irish cloth. The fact, considered as a national object, was trifling. However, since the important Manufacture of wool had been discouraged in Ireland for the avowed benefit of Great Britain, it would not have been amiss if the British Government had made it a point to be constant customers to the staple Irish linen Manufacture. Lord Chesterfield, I think, mentions somewhere in his Letters, that, since he had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he was careful to have all the linen used about his person and in his family, purchased at Dublin.

The national distresses of Ireland, which were so much dwelt upon at the period we are speaking of, are a subject upon which Political Writers do not perfectly agree. Dean Swift has given a woeful description of those distresses, in his *Short view of the state of Ireland*. He compares that Kingdom, in which a few Placemen from England enjoyed plentiful salaries, to an Hospital, in which all the household Officers grow rich, while the Poor, for whose sake it was built, are almost starving for want of food and raiment\*. At the end of that same Treatise the following concluding note is to be found. "The present state of Ireland is in general as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: Arts and Sciences are encouraged: and, in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no Kingdom can be more improved." ORRERY. (1752)

\* For a remedy to several of those causes of national distress which Dean Swift has pointed out, the People of Ireland might as well have applied to their own, as to the British Legislature.

Mr. Young, in his Work published in the year 1779, or perhaps beginning of 1780, gives the following opinion. "Upon the whole we may safely determine, that, judging by those appearances and circumstances which have been generally agreed to mark the prosperity of a Country, Ireland has, since the year 1748, made as great advances as could possibly be expected, perhaps greater than any Country in Europe." It has been no unusual thing, it seems, in the Parliament of Ireland, to hear pompous descriptions of the national prosperity, presently contradicted on the other side of the House, by most melancholy pictures of the distressed state of the Kingdom. The same also often takes place in the Parliament of Great Britain.

Except wool and glass, which were restrained from exportation,—sugar and East India goods, which were restrained from *direct* importation,—and tobacco, which was restrained from cultivation, the People of Ireland were at liberty to grow or manufacture what commodities they chose, and send them to foreign Countries. They might likewise import from foreign markets what goods they pleased. It has been above observed that the articles of sugar and tea were cheaper in Ireland than in Great Britain.

The restraints on the Trade of Ireland, though detrimental, were not of that calamitous nature which was represented by political Speakers, even in the British Parliament, at the time we are speaking of, or which was no doubt believed by many Individuals in Ireland.

There were other considerations besides commercial ones, which concurred in rendering the complaints of the People of Ireland concerning the restraints on their Trade, so zealous and universal at



at the period we are mentioning, and induced them to join in common endeavours to have them repealed. These restraints had been laid by the Legislature of another Kingdom, by a Parliament residing in a different Country, and which, at the same time, claimed a right of absolute indefinite legislation over them. Being governed for their good, is the utmost that Mankind in general can bear; they should not be expected to shew much patience when they find that they are governed to their detriment.

National and political considerations were blended with commercial ones, in the complaints of the People of Ireland. Those prohibitions on their Trade and Navigation, which had been expressed, modified, explained, or confirmed, in fifty, or sixty Acts perhaps of the British Legislature, were, in their opinions, but too obvious tokens of Irish dependence, and of provincial subordination and Government.

An important change had also, at that same time, taken place in the circumstances of Great Britain and her Parliament.

Great Britain, after being weakened during several years by violent contentions at home, had seen her Colonies revolt from her. She had been foiled in her attempt to recover her dominion over them. She continued to be involved in an expensive war in the same quarters. France and Spain had joined in the contest; and Great Britain was now engaged in the defence of her own coast.

The design which, at the present period, began to be formed and pursued by the People of Ireland and Leaders, of rescuing their Trade from the detrimental abridgments, and provincial restraints, under which it lay, was no very extraordinary instance in the History of Governments. Seizing the opportunity of the distresses

of a Government in order to serve particular purposes,—taking advantage of the fears it entertains of foreign attack, or of multiplied opposition at home, has been practised in all times and in all Countries: it is a mode of conduct against which political Leaders in Britain, and Members of the British Legislature, have no very eminent right to exclaim.

Freeing their Trade from its encumbrances was now the universal and avowed object of the People of Ireland. In order to forward the attainment of it, public agreements against the use of English Manufactures were proposed to be adopted, in the same manner as had been practised in America. The measure, it was thought, would serve the purpose of putting compulsion upon the British Government; and it would also afford a conspicuous proof of the unanimous, fixed, determination of the People.

Agreements of this kind were entered into by the Counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Kilkeenny, and Monaghan, in the beginning, it seems, of the year 1779. At an Assembly held at the *Tbolcel* of the City of Dublin, on the 16th of April of the same year, *Resolutions* of a like kind were passed. And similar steps were taken at Cork, as well as in other Towns, and, in short, through the whole Kingdom.

The *Resolutions* and Associations against the use of English Manufactures were to be adhered to, till the repeal of the obnoxious Laws of Great Britain was obtained. The public indignation was held forth to intimidate such as might be inclined to break through the general agreements. The names of such Shopkeepers and other Persons, as were detected in violating them, were exhibited in the public papers: for, the *Resolutions* were not always without some few Transgressors. And the Mob used to take upon themselves the charge



charge of chastising such as proved notorious backsliding Offenders.

A very eloquent Agent also at that time began to make its appearance in favour of the freedom of the Trade of Ireland, an Agent extremely effectual for obtaining popular successes: I mean to speak of the *Armed Associations*.

These Associations, according to the most probable accounts, began to be formed in the year 1776. A Member of the Irish House of Commons, Mr. *George Ogle*, had brought in a Bill for establishing a national Militia. His motive was, that, as the army stationed in Ireland had been gradually draughted and sent to America, the Country was left defenceless, and the Coast exposed to the insults of the American Privateers.

The Bill miscarried: it was opposed, it seems, from the Government side of the House. As the County which the Mover of the Bill represented, (the County of Wexford) and in which his estate was situated, lay on the Southern Coast, he declared that his intention was to form a *volunteer* Militia in his County, and to arm his Friends and Tenants.

The Country was so destitute of military force and protection, at the time we mention, that the Mayor of Belfast, having transmitted a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, requesting a body of the Military for the defence of the coast, received for answer, that no assistance could be afforded him more than half a Troop of dismounted Horse, and half a Company of Invalids.

The promise of arming his Friends and Neighbours, made by the above-mentioned Gentleman, was soon after fulfilled\*. The

\* Other accounts, different from this, are given of the first origin of the *Volunteer* Associations. The City of Corke, for instance, also claims the honour of having given them rise: armed Associations, it is alledged, were formed at Corke against the Whiteboys, antecedently to those in the County of Wexford.

scene of diversion and novelty which was afforded by learning military exercises, drawing up into military Bodies, and practising warlike evolutions, invited a considerable number of Volunteers from the adjacent Country; and in a short time Mr. Ogle's army was talked of all over the Kingdom. A temptation to imitate the example spread into remoter Counties. The noise of arms which was at that time resounding from the other parts of the Empire, became a farther incitement. The *Armed Associations* soon became general, and were formed in the North as well as in the South.

The Government having begun to guess at the kind of political engine the *Associations* might at length be turned into, made offers of Commissions and pay; which were declined. They also ordered sixteen thousand stand of arms to be distributed, by way of shewing perhaps that they were not afraid: these were accepted.

In the course of the year 1778 the number of the *Associated Volunteers* had risen to thirty thousand. No enemy at hand; much sham-fighting and reviewing; plenty of conviviality and entertainments: about the middle of the year 1779 the *Associated Volunteers* amounted to sixty thousand.

They received no pay. They chose their own Officers. They, in short, formed a kind of standing army, or rather standing armed Bodies or Troops; who communicated with one another through the whole Kingdom; who were strangers to the Government; and over whom the Government had no control.

As a specimen of the aspiring views, in a military line, manifested by the *Associations*, even at an early period, it may be mentioned, that, in the year 1778, they set the Regulars at defiance in the City of Corke. These latter being absent, engaged in a public Review, the *Volunteer Army*, by means of a rapid and successful march,



march, made themselves Masters of the Barracks; and when the King's Soldiers returned, they were obliged, in order to get admittance, to perform a regular martial Relief, after the customary manner of Regiments succeeding in the place of others.

Military Associations and Confederacies, when freed from military discipline, are but indifferent Schools for political docility and submissiveness. The *Volunteer* Associations soon infused an additional life and spirit into the politics of Ireland. Till the day in which they interfered in the questions relative to the Trade of the Kingdom, the rest of the People had been rather uncertain in their own minds as to the real nature of their expectations. They considered the restraints that had been laid on their Trade by the British Legislature, as being, no doubt, the causes of the distresses of the Country: but they had not yet settled to what extent they were to demand relief, nor come to any general agreement about that among themselves. A perfectly unrestrained freedom of Trade was not yet intended to be demanded. In the motions made by Lords or Gentlemen from Ireland, in the British House of Commons, of which they were Members, in the year 1778, and renewed in February 1779, it appears that the woollen Manufacture was positively excepted from the proposals that were then made in favour of Ireland.—Wool, like sail-cloth, was considered as being an *Imperial* Article, which Great Britain wanted to keep to herself, would not allow to be shared in.

The words, a *FREE TRADE*, had not been yet thought of; a perfectly free Trade was not the object which the Irish Nation were aiming at, when the *Associations* joined in the common cause. As hath been above observed, they infused a new life into the popular councils.

councils and resolutions. From that period it became more and more evident that the repeal of all restraints on the national Trade was absolutely necessary to be obtained, without exception, or loss of time. No dilatory remedies, no partial expedients, the immediate grant of a free Trade alone, could retrieve the public calamities, and save the Nation from impending ruin.

The events that had of late years taken place in America, also produced a temptation to imitate the example, and to shake off what was considered as badges of national dependence.

The circumstances of the present time moreover concurred in giving the Irish Armed Associations a considerable weight in the political scale. The combined Fleets of France and Spain had been for some weeks riding, without resistance, in the neighbouring Seas. Not only Great Britain, but Ireland herself, had been deemed to be in danger. The *Volunteer* Associations had been considered by the Government of Ireland as the main defence of the Country. The Associations were, in fact, both the keepers of the public peace, and the protectors of the Kingdom against foreign Invaders. These circumstances did not increase their political modesty.

In a Review and Procession that was performed round the Statue of King William, by the Dublin horse and foot Volunteers, the four sides of the pedestal were adorned with the following Inscription. *The Irish Volunteers, and relief to Ireland.—The glorious Revolution.—A free Trade! or else\*.*

\* This inscription was in the true style of epistolary correspondence, used in former times by Irish Chieftains among themselves:

*O'Nial to O'Donnell.*

Pay me your tribute, or if you don't—

*O'Nial.*

*O'Donnell to O'Nial.*

I owe you no tribute, and if I did—

*O'Donnell.*



Ireland was now expressing herself in a tone which she had not used at any former time. The Irish Harp had passed into a different modulation. It had left the *flat*, or minor, *Mode* or Key—the musical *Mode* of plaint. It had passed into the *Mode* of reproach and demand. And the Irish Harp was sounding with the Third *sharp*, or *Tierce majeure*.

Projects for openly setting at defiance the commercial Laws of the British Parliament, were even beginning to be talked of. A Merchant at Belfast having shipped a quantity of woollen goods for a foreign market, the Custom-house Officer attempted to stop the Ship, and read the British Act. His endeavours were ineffectual. The Ship proceeded on her voyage, in sight of a multitude of applauding Spectators.

An Alderman of Dublin made a trial of a like kind. He laded a Ship with woollen stuffs for a foreign port. The Collector refused to enter the goods. The Merchant brought an action against him, and was taking steps for having it decided by an Irish Jury.

On the 12th of October 1779, the Parliament of Ireland met. The eyes of the Public were now turned towards them, in anxious expectation of their determinations and proceedings.

*Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant.*

The Parliament of Ireland completely adopted the views and political wishes of the Public. The Address which was voted by the Commons, to be delivered, as an answer to the Speech from the Throne by which the Session was opened, contained the following expressions: *We beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free Trade alone, that this Nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.* The House of Lords con-

desired in expressing the same sentiments: *We think it our duty to represent to your Majesty, that a free Trade is absolutely necessary to enable this Nation to support your Majesty at this important period with exertions suited to its loyalty, and preserve it from utter ruin*.\*

The Volunteers of Ireland also had their share in the honour of the day. They lined the Street, or Avenue, which communicates from the Parliament House to the Castle. And, through a double line formed by them, the Addresses were carried, to be delivered to the Representative of the King of Great Britain.

An event was now taking place which had not yet happened in the History of the two Kingdoms of Great Britain, and Ireland. The People of Ireland were openly standing forth in vindication of their political and commercial claims. They were looking the Parliament of Great Britain in the face, and calling upon it to undo the Laws, without exception, by which it had restrained the Trade of the Associate Kingdom.

An account will be given, in the Second Part, of the measures which were adopted in Great Britain, in consequence of the steps that had been taken in Ireland, as well as of the alterations that were subsequently effected in the Irish Constitution. Observations will also be introduced concerning the political extent of these alterations; which are perhaps more important in their consequences than those Persons who have had a share in effecting them were aware of.

\* The expression of *temporary expedients*, used in the Address of the Commons, alluded to the information the Lord Lieutenant had given them, that a sum of money (50,000 guineas) had been remitted from the Exchequer in England for reimbursing the expenses of an encampment, while the Combined Fleets were in the Channel, the Irish Exchequer being exhausted. After acknowledging his Majesty's paternal solicitude and condescension in remitting the money, the Commons added, "We beg leave, however, humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, &c."

*The end of Part the First.*



(CONTINUATION, BY ANOTHER HAND.)

The arrival of the two Secretaries in Ireland was immediately followed by that of the new Viceroy. And the Irish Parliament, meeting the very next day after the landing of the Duke of Portland in April 1782, was uncommonly crowded by strangers, who had been drawn together by motives of curiosity or by zeal of patriotism. A new Governor, thus sent to that distracted kingdom with such uncommon dispatch in the middle of a Session, could not fail of being regarded as the bearer of important tidings; and the message sent by him to the Lower House, together with the comments made upon it by the Minister who delivered it, soon gave the public to understand, that the purposes of his mission were of the last importance to the Irish Nation, particularly with regard to the constitutional question which had been so warmly agitated, and was at length laid at rest.

In answer to the King's message, thus signified by the Lord Lieutenant, the House voted an Address to his Majesty, declaratory of the rights of the People of Ireland, and fully stating the causes of their discontents. This declaration was introduced as an amendment to the Address originally voted, and was the suggestion of Mr. Grattan, who was equally eminent for his eloquence and popularity. He prefaced his motion for the Amendment with some very forcible illustrations of the Declaration of Rights, which the Address was intended to convey to the foot of the Throne. "This Nation," says he, "is connected with England, not by *Allegiance* only, but by *Liberty*. The *Crown* is one great point of Union, but *Magna Charta* is a greater. We could get a King any where, but England is the only country where we could get a Constitution. We are not united with England, as Judge Blackstone has foolishly said, by Conquest, but by Charter. Ireland has British privileges, and is by them connected with Britain. Both countries are united in Liberty." He then stated the terms which he conceived his country entitled to sti-

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pulate for the future security of her Constitution, and which are particularized in the Address under a declaratory form; they were as follows:

A Repeal of the 6th of George I. including a Restoration of the Appellant Jurisdiction to the Lords of Ireland.

An Abolition of the unconstitutional Power of Privy Councils;

And a Repeal of the Mutiny Bill.

A Judges Bill he refrained from mentioning, as he had heard that it was assented to in England. These were the points which the people of Ireland had strongly in view immediately after the enlargement of their Commercial Privileges had been obtained. They were desired, as being in some measure cautionary, for the more secure and perfect enjoyment of both mercantile and political freedom; they had been first publicly avowed at the Dungannon meeting, as an object coinciding with the general wishes of the nation; and they were at length unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, and voted by the Lords in Ireland.

The subject was resumed in the British Parliament; and resolutions passed both Houses (May 17th) for repealing the obnoxious act, and for addressing his Majesty that such measures might be taken by the Government as should establish the connexion between the two kingdoms upon a solid and permanent footing.

Thus was the first step taken towards allaying whatever discontents and jealousies had arisen in Ireland, on account of a Statute which seemed injurious to the national liberty of that Country. Its commercial and constitutional rights were thus settled on the basis of equal independence with that enjoyed by the people of Great Britain. These rights were not, however, as yet perfectly defined; and a series of revolutions in the British Cabinet intervening, it was not till the following year, that the full independence of Ireland, both with regard to Judicature and Legislation, was finally secured. Another bill was passed in 1783, consisting of two parts, one of which confirmed and declared the meaning of the Legislature in repealing the 6th of George I.; and the other abandoned the exercise



ercise of the appellat jurisdiction of Great Britain. By this law, the Supremacy of the House of Lords in Ireland, in all matters of appeal from the inferior tribunals in that country, was thus finally established. The business of a Mutiny Bill was also settled to the satisfaction of Ireland.

The concessions, which were thus made by these acts of the British Legislature in favour of the Sister Nation, were of so liberal and decisive a nature, as immediately to do away all unfavourable impressions that had arisen in the latter on account of the invidious state of political dependence in which she had been so long held. They appeared, indeed, so satisfactory to a grateful people, and to the Parliament of Ireland at once vigorous and prudent, that the measures of Government were now received in that Kingdom with the most cordial support. For, notwithstanding some attempts were made by the more zealous Members for a reduction of the Military Establishment on the close of the American war, and for passing a six months Money Bill, both proved unsuccessful; the motions for these several purposes being thrown out by majorities, which shewed the confidence of the Country.

The people of Ireland, having thus restored and improved their Constitution, were induced, from the effects, which had recently attended all their political endeavours, to carry the spirit of reform a step farther. The inadequate state of Parliamentary Representation, together with the long duration of Parliaments, were considered as unconstitutional and intolerable grievances. The Volunteers, therefore, who had before so successfully spoken the voice of the nation, once more came forward, and, in a meeting of their delegates at Dungannon (September 8th 1783), pledged themselves to each other and to their Country, to seek a speedy and effectual redress of those grievances, and to make every necessary exertion for obtaining it.

An aggregate meeting was also convened of the Citizens of Dublin, for the purpose of recommending this object of popular desire: and here it was proposed that five persons should be elected from each County, City, and

great Town in the Kingdom, to meet in a National Congress, at some convenient place in the Capital, in order to determine on such measures as should seem most conducive to the attainment of the Reform so anxiously desired: A Petition was voted to be presented to his Majesty, explaining the sense of the Nation upon the subject, and representing, amongst other causes of complaint, that a Bill for a more equal Representation of the People had been rejected by their own Representatives in Parliament even without discussion; that protecting Duties had been denied, which were deemed necessary for the encouragement of the infant Manufactures of Ireland, and which England had thought expedient, even in the present flourishing state of her commerce. The petitioners finally prayed for the Dissolution of a Parliament, which had viewed their proceedings with jealousy, and rejected their desires with firmness.

The measures, which were thus recommended at this aggregate meeting of the Citizens of Dublin, were afterwards repeatedly adopted, and Resolutions similar to the former were passed unanimously by other conventions of men who concurred in one design.

It is here to be observed, that a remarkable part of the Irish Reform was a communication of the Rights of Election to the Papists of that Country. This proposal, which had been thrown in for the purpose of division, met with the disapprobation of some of the highest characters among the Volunteers; and it has been remarked of the whole plan, that, even if it should be admitted as necessary in England, it by no means will follow, that it is necessary in Ireland. The Representatives of Ireland are chosen by a much greater proportion of the people, who can be prudently qualified to vote, than in England. The change of property in the former country, and its divided interests, (the property and established Government being comparatively in the hands of a few,) were said to be objections against throwing the power of Election into suspicious hands, more particularly as no qualification, with respect to property, is required for obtaining a seat in the Irish Parliament. With regard to the protecting



protecting Duties, which had been denied by the same Assembly to the earnest calls of the Dublin Manufacturers, it has been affirmed, perhaps with justice, that they would have produced infinitely greater inconveniences than they were meant to obviate: for, if high duties were laid upon English Manufactures, the consequence would be, that the British Parliament would not only retaliate, but the Irish must buy at an enhanced price, what they could not do without, which would distress, rather than relieve them.

The ardour of discussion, which had exerted itself upon constitutional questions, now again gave place to the interests of commerce. The political regulations had originally been applied to remedy evils comparatively remote in their effect, and often existing more in apprehension than in reality; they were attended rather with circumstances of splendour than of immediate utility, and they were therefore justly regarded as less useful than extensions of trade; but the changes made in the external Legislature of Ireland were instantaneously felt and enjoyed. These changes, and the enlargement of her commercial privileges, had been conveyed in terms sufficiently perspicuous to the mercantile people of both Nations; but the immediate intercourse between the two Islands, which was still obstructed by acts of the British Parliament, and by the prejudices of the British traders, required to be made more open and free, by an adjustment of such points as had not been yet arranged.

For this purpose, it was deemed highly expedient, that whatever regulations might appear necessary should be first discussed in the Irish Parliament, in order that the British Minister might be enabled to state what that assembly had in expectation, and upon what terms they were willing to cooperate in the formation of a permanent system. As this adjustment of commercial concerns was to bear the force of a Treaty, final and perpetual, between two independent Nations, touching their most obvious interests, it was natural for the Manufacturers and Merchants of both countries, who were immediately liable to be affected by its operation, to examine every

every part of the system with the most minute and jealous attention. It was alledged, that the Union between England and Scotland, which is so finely recorded by De Foe, was a work of infinitely less consequence, than the present measure, and whatever might have been the obstacles thrown in the way of the former, they were but trifling, when compared to the jealousies, terrors, and apprehensions excited by the prospect of this incorporation of disunited rights. Questions of a political nature may sometimes be above the comprehension of the many; but where the interests of trading communities are supposed to be concerned, every artizan becomes as quick-fighted as the most experienced negociator. The commercial arrangements between the Sister Kingdoms were said to be pregnant with the most tremendous revolutions in private property, as well as in the national wealth and prosperity of both Kingdoms: for every article of the regulations contained in them was reprobated on both sides of the water, with a degree of heat and acrimony that is always most forward and apparent when founded in error.

The condition, requiring that the trade laws of both should always be the same, alarmed the jealousy of the Irish people for their constitutional independence. On the other hand, Great Britain regarded this point as so essential to the naval defences of both that she seemed determined never to admit Ireland to a full participation of commercial privileges without a similarity of commercial laws, which the Irish Legislature had often passed since the epoch of its independence. But ambiguous words were now plentifully scattered among the Irish people, which made them look with apprehension to the annual precedents of their own Parliament.

Though this system has been mentioned as a compact final and perpetual, yet without enacting any thing, it contained only declaratory matter, which formed the ground work of future Acts of Parliament, that were to establish specific regulations conformable to the principles held forth in the general Resolutions.



To speak impartially of the merits of this business, it must be allowed to have originated in the desires of the Irish Parliament, and in the laudable ambition of the Minister whose measure it was, to effectuate a comprehensive and final understanding, between two kingdoms that ought to be united to each other by every tie of interest and affection. The appellation of Sisters was never more deservedly applied than to Great Britain and Ireland. The hand of Nature itself has placed them under one Sovereign, enjoying a similitude of Government and Constitution, and has connected them by the soundest alliance of mutual wants and reciprocal supplies. No wonder then that the furtherance of so great an object, as the closer connexion of two Countries, thus united by so many ties, should be one of the first measures adopted by a Minister who wished well to the prosperity of both. Called to the direction of national affairs at the close of a ruinous and impolitic war between the Mother Country and her Colonies, he naturally aimed at retrieving her losses by the various arts of peace, and by the aids to be contributed by Ireland out of the surplus of her hereditary revenues. And apparently no means could be more eligible for effecting this purpose, than a system, whose object was to enlarge and ascertain the national advantages which mutually result from an intercourse of commerce between the two Islands.

This opinion naturally suggests itself to an impartial reviewer of this transaction. For it cannot be supposed that a business of such transcendent magnitude, would have received the sanction of the Parliaments of the Sister Kingdoms, had it been injurious to the commercial and political interests of both; though the objections raised against it were equally violent on both sides. Prejudice, indeed, is not the growth of one soil more than another; and we need not look further than the History\* of the Union with Scotland, to see measures of the most approved utility impugned and calumniated by the ill-founded prepossessions of the day.

\* See De Foe's History of this famous Union.

It only remains to be observed, that the modification proposed by the above mentioned commercial arrangements, appears (particularly in one article respecting the application of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of Ireland) to correspond in its principle with a plan said to have been proposed a few years ago by a nobleman of the most respectable abilities, the substance of which is nearly contained in the following words :

“ Would it not be wise in Ireland to say to the British Government, I will pay you a neat 7 or 800,000l. a year, applicable to your annual supplies, or paying off your debt, and leave the defence of the Kingdom entirely to your own discretion, on condition that I shall never have any military charge or pensions laid on me; the remainder of the revenue to be at the application of my own Parliament, for the uses of interior Government only, and for the encouragement of the trade, manufactures, and agriculture of the Kingdom. That you shall give me in return a specified freedom of commerce.---This surely would be the wisest bargain that Ireland ever made.---The Parliament of the Kingdom would still retain both importance and business---and perhaps the advantages of an Union would be enjoyed without its inconveniencies; for the Parliament would remain for the civil protection of the Kingdom, and the British Legislature would not be deluged by an addition of Irish Peers and Commoners; one reason among others which made the late Earl of Chatham repeatedly declare himself against such a measure.” The Earl of Shelburne, adds the writer from whom this quotation is drawn, “ has assured me of this fact; nor let me omit to add, that to that nobleman I am indebted for the outlines of the preceding plan.”

The necessity of defining the commercial claims of the two Kingdoms still subsists in all its force; and since the experiment failed which was intended to effect this, it has been argued that a commercial treaty of any sort would be insufficient for the purpose. For, it is said, that no commercial treaty between two Kingdoms, with independent Legislatures, though under the same King, can, or ever will produce a real and effectual



effectual consolidation of interests. That is, supposing the treaty to be in fact admirably calculated for mutual advantage; yet, the idea of two independent nations still remaining, the greater number will ever consider their interests as distinct, independent, and often incompatible. That the mercantile interests of the two Kingdoms have been for ages regarded as incompatible, is evident from the severe restrictions that so long discouraged the commerce of Ireland. But if an effectual consolidation of interests be the legitimate object of every commercial Treaty between two independent Nations, and if a deficiency of the mode be an argument against any particular treaty; then the project of a commercial Treaty with any foreign Nation, particularly with France, must be the most futile that ever could enter the imagination of an English Statesman: for, who ever thought of an *effectual consolidation* of the interests of France with those of Great Britain, though the real interests of both may be promoted by a commercial agreement, stipulating reciprocal facilities? Yet, we have seen such a treaty adjusted and ratified between France and Great Britain, and have every reason to expect the most beneficial consequences from its operation.

But the truth is, as must be obvious to a moment's reflection, that in such treaties it is not a *consolidation* of interests that is meant to be effected, but an *equalization* of them; not that the interests of both parties should be to every extent the same, but that where interests are distinct, independent, and often incompatible, they may be so modified by mutual concessions, that neither party shall derive any advantage from such arrangement, which shall not be compensated to the other. Now there appears no reason why this should not be as feasible with regard to Ireland as to France, though a similar attempt indeed has not turned out equally successful, since political jealousy proved too powerful for mercantile interest.

The failure of the late commercial arrangements between Great Britain

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and Ireland, which had been so ardently desired by the true friends of both, has induced many well-informed men to insist, that an incorporate Union of the two nations is the only adequate and lasting remedy, which can prevent hereafter the inconvenience of mercantile altercations, or the danger of absolute separation. In support of this opinion, they urge respectable authorities and weighty arguments. But, leaving the merits of such a measure to the irrefragable decisions of time, which frequently takes pleasure, as it were, to expose the fallibility of political reasonings, it must be admitted, that the Irish Privy Council, in 1676, and the Irish House of Peers, during the reign of Anne, proposed an incorporate Union, as the most effectual means of improving the commercial advantages of Great Britain and Ireland, and of securing the stability of the British Empire upon a permanent foundation.

It is remarkable that this measure has been strenuously recommended by advocates of all parties, and of both nations. An Irish writer, urging the advantages of a union, has quoted authorities largely in support of his opinion. As the grand remedy, says he, for the decline of foreign trade, Sir Matthew Decker proposes to unite Ireland, and to put all the subjects of the two Kingdoms upon the same footing in trade. Sir Josiah Child recommends the same measure. Dr. Campbell says, that the main drift of his Political Survey, was to open men's eyes on the importance of all the parts of the British territories, as being at once the only natural and certain means of establishing the grandeur, procuring the safety, and fixing the permanency of the British Empire; a triple alliance, or rather strict Union between England, Scotland, and Ireland, being the only league necessary to make his Britannic Majesty the most potent Monarch of Europe.---Sir William Petty saw it in its true light at a very early period, and points out as the first impediment to England's greatness, that "the territories thereto belonging are divided into so many Kingdoms and several Governments. There be, continues he, three legislative powers in England,



land, Scotland, and Ireland, which, instead of uniting together, do often cross upon one another's trade, not only as if they were foreigners to each other, but sometimes as enemies."

To these may be added the opinions of some of the most intelligent and respectable living characters of the present age\*. The Duke of Richmond, who, as a friend to Ireland, was expressly solicited by the Volunteer Delegates of that Country for his advice upon the subject of constitutional reform, thus frankly expresses himself in his reply to them. "I have always thought it for the interests of the two islands to be incorporated, and form one and the same Kingdom, with the same Legislature, meeting sometimes in Ireland, as well as England.---I am sensible that there are great difficulties attending the adjustment of such an Union, and that it requires great wisdom and temper to form it, especially on the part of Ireland, which must feel that she ought to give the preponderance to Great Britain; but I am sure that the business ought not to be neglected, and that every true friend to both Kingdoms ought to give it his most zealous assistance."

The same is the opinion repeatedly given by an eminent Divine, who has written frequently upon subjects of national importance, and whose writings, for sound sense, perspicuity, and freedom from party, have justly commanded the public attention: the proposal of incorporating both the British Isles together, Dean Tucker represents as having long been the wish of every generous, disinterested Patriot of both Kingdoms, and the benefits that would result from it as equally interesting and important to both.

That an Union between Great Britain and Ireland would produce no solid disadvantage to the Irish commerce, is a position which ought not to be admitted, because it cannot be easily proved: for, allowing every degree of splendour to the acquisitions that Ireland has lately made in that respect, she cannot surely be said to enjoy at this moment such well grounded

\* Lords Sydney, Carlisle, Derby, Camden. See Stockdale's Parliamentary Debates, July 8, 1785.

hopes of flourishing by trade, as if she were put in every respect upon the same footing with Great Britain. Indeed, were political prejudices, which ever regard show more than substance, fairly laid aside, and the genuine advantage of Ireland solely considered, that nation has every reason to wish for such an event. "Ireland," as an ingenious writer of that Country remarks, though she traces her antiquity to the remotest period, "is not four score years old in the period of improvement;" nor is it probable, that, even with the advantages which she has already obtained, her trade will make any considerable advances towards the flourishing condition in which that of Great Britain has been for a century past. "Enthralled as she has long been," continues he, "by evil habits, the most perfect freedom will not at once emancipate her. Manners have a greater influence than laws. It will require much time and a fostering hand to rear industry in that soil, though planted ever so carefully. Before it will bear the rich fruits of arts and commerce, a long series of years will pass away. As a horse that has been thrown and bound to have some operation performed on him, yet continues to lie still after being loosed from all his cords, just so would it be with Ireland. A considerable portion of time must elapse before she would begin to exert the powers that she possessed."

Ireland, as Sir Matthew Decker justly observes, is too poor to carry her trade to the extent of which it is capable, so that were it as free as it is possible to make it, *which can only be effected by an Union*, it must nevertheless be still carried on by English stocks. Consequently, adds he, a great part of the profits of it must fall into the hands of the English merchant. The immediate balance of advantage between the two islands, must certainly be for some time in favour of England. Nor can any sensible change happen in the Irish trade, in case of an Union, or in any other case that can possibly affect it, at least for this generation, unless the English merchants should open warehouses in the ports of Ireland, and then they would profit themselves without injuring their native country. This method has already been adopted in the linen trade



trade of Ireland, which owes much of its success to the English capitals embarked in it. But this method will by no means become general, or even take place to any considerable extent, while the two islands continue in any other form of commercial relation, than that which an Union would create. The reason of this is plain, the English merchant will never embark his capital in what he considers as a foreign country, the trade of which being under regulations in many respects very different from the British, will not have sufficient attraction to induce him to renounce, or forsake, even in part, the traffic with which he is well acquainted, and the profits which he hath long enjoyed. But he will be far less disposed to make this renunciation in favour of a species of traffic which he probably considers as interfering to a degree of strenuous rivalry with the proper commerce of his native country. Whereas both Governments being united internally and externally, their code of commercial regulations being of course one and the same, the mercantile interests of particulars, though trading on different sides of St. George's Channel, will also be perfectly the same, nationally considered; that is, they will be as much the same as the interests of merchants trading from the same country can be, which do not immediately clash or interfere in a private view; they will be regarded as conducing to the general prosperity of the same commonwealth. Like bees labouring for the same hive, they will no longer look upon each other as belonging to a swarm of interlopers, but range the vast fields of ocean with concord and unanimity, gathering the riches of all-bounteous Nature, wheresoever industrious enterprise shall point them out. There will always be enough for all. No trade can be overstocked in a free country, if the departments be fitly arranged. There will be room enough at all times for the exercise of all the industry of both countries without clashing.

Finally, it has been demonstrated, and is a truth generally received, that a poor nation can never carry away from a rich one, those manufactures, the cheapness of which depends chiefly on large capitals.

Much.

Much has been said of the cheapness of living in Ireland; the division of labour, and habits of industry; but the Scotch live not more expensively than the Irish, yet experience proves that no English manufacture has been injured by their competition since the Union.

It may not be amiss here to observe, that the removal of those impolitic commercial restrictions and disabilities which were formerly laid upon Ireland and its consequent extension of trade, has entirely changed the state of the question, with regard to the expedience of an Union between Great Britain and Ireland; consequently the greatest part of the arguments used in support of it, previous to that æra, as they tended to prove the advantageous effects to Ireland, of such an enlargement of trade, assumed as a circumstance necessarily connected with and resulting from the Union, are now inapplicable; as, on the other hand, the objections of those who feared the pernicious consequences to Great Britain, of allowing such unlimited commercial privileges to the Irish, as this Union would create, are equally done away. The emancipation of the commerce of Ireland, has proved experimentally to the advocates for the question, that many of those advantages which they describe, can exist independent of an Union, and to its opposers, that the disadvantages apprehended from it to the trade of England have been in a great measure imaginary.

The principal objections therefore to an Union on the part of Ireland at present, are the encrease of absentees; the want of a Parliament for protection against the officers of the crown; and lastly the increase of taxes. The first and last objections, if they are admitted to be evils, imply the impoverishment of the Kingdom, and were objected in Scotland against the Union which has taken place; but the fact is directly otherwise, and Scotland since that fortunate epoch has continually augmented her opulence. Nor can a nation be thought on any mercantile principle to be a loser, which exchanges the residence of idle country gentlemen, for a numerous race of industrious farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and sailors. As to taxation, it ought to be considered that it always did, in every state,  
follow



follow prosperity and wealth, when necessity required, or prudence directed, for the public welfare. The second objection seems to have been nearly as strong in the case of Scotland, and yet the evil has had no existence; the four Courts of Dublin would of course remain, though the Governments were incorporated; nor does it appear that any great protection results to individuals from a Parliament, which the law of the land does not give. Yet upon this ground of objection, every corporate town in Ireland would, no doubt, sound the alarm against an Union with Great Britain; for, as they would some of them lose the rights of returning members to Parliament, and of course their consequence, they would represent every plan of incorporation as pregnant with dishonour and ruin, while interest would concur with vanity, to represent that as extremely dangerous which might be usefully safe.

People accustomed to the pomp and pageantry of state come at length to lay a high value on them. Nor are the Irish singular in their attachment to such matters. It was provided by a clause, added to the articles of the Union of Scotland, that their Crown and other regalia should remain at Holyrood House. And such was the popular prejudice against the Union, while the treaty was in negociation at Edinburgh, that it became necessary to call in the army to protect the houses and persons of those who were supposed to favour it.

It is obvious, on the other hand, that England would gain from the opulence of Ireland, which would bear a part of the expences of their future wars, without sharing in the burthens of the existing debts. Some assert, that Ireland is already taxed higher than England, if the trade and resources of both Nations be considered; but in reply to this it has been observed, that Ireland is rather unequally than heavily taxed: for residents there pay but little, and absentees pay no large contribution towards the expences of Government. Equitable taxation therefore can only be expected from an incorporation with England.

It may indeed be said, "Why should we contribute to lessen the incumbrances

cumbrances of Britain?" For the best of reasons. A junction of both Kingdoms, instead of being pernicious to the one, by involving her in a participation of the debt which the other labours under, would, from the prosperity that must thence accrue to both, enable not only Britain in a greater degree, but Ireland, to contribute to the diminution of the present national incumbrances. From being two distinct Sovereignities they would coalesce into one state with a better chance for stability than in their divided condition, and the lesser Kingdom, by becoming, under these circumstances, a part of the united whole, would reap such advantages as to enable her, in the midst of encreasing prosperity, to pay her proportion with ease.

That such would be the advantageous effects of an Union on the commerce and wealth of Ireland, is rendered probable by one improvement which remains to be mentioned, and which would be the certain consequence of an Unity of Legislature. It is undeniable that the laws are in much less force in Ireland than in Great Britain. The state of society in the former country would owe much to a vigorous and impartial administration of justice, similar to what obtains in the latter. The violent outrages that are unaccountably permitted to exist in one Province of Ireland, while they render the property and domestic peace of individuals uncertain, will ever be an unfurmountable bar to the flourishing of internal Commerce; without which it is impossible for any Nation constantly to derive any advantage from the happiest establishments. The picture that is drawn of these violations of order and law in Ireland, by a publick-spirited Prelate of that Kingdom, is really alarming.

"The present proceeding, says he, is not a paroxysm of phrenzy originating with ignorant and rash peasants, but a dark and deep scheme planned by men skilled in law and the artifices by which it may be evaded. These enemies to the publick peace, though nominal Protestants, suggested to the farmers to enter into a combination under the sanction of an oath, not to take their tithes, or to assist any Clergyman in drawing them; and a form



form of summons to the Clergyman to draw, penned with legal accuracy, was printed at Cork, at the expence of *a gentleman of rank and fortune*, and many thousand copies of it circulated with diligence through the adjacent counties. In order to render these oaths universal, the Whiteboys, sometimes in numerous bodies, sometimes by delegates from such bodies, tendered them at the Romish Chapels and market towns. At the same time, to avoid the appearance of intending to rob the clergy of their whole maintenance, they published, and the newspapers copied, a tithing table, which, however, was never generally adhered to by them. The rates proposed by their several parties varied in different parishes, and in the same parish at different times, as the terror of their number increased. In some parishes these diminutions were followed by a resolution to admit no composition for tithe. It is worth remarking, as an evidence that the *poor* were not the authors of this disturbance, and that their relief was not the real object of its promoters, that the Whiteboys did not aim to render *potatoes* tithe free, but from the beginning insisted on annihilating the tithe for *hay*."

Here it may be observed, that the wealthy graziers in Ireland, who form perhaps the principal part of the landholders, being, by a very impolitic act of the Legislature, exempted from paying tithes of agistment, would, in this case, almost absolutely cease to contribute to the maintenance of the established Clergy, "whose duties are more arduous than those of their English brethren, in proportion to the opposition of Dissenting sects in Ireland, and more laborious in proportion to its want of civilization. And in no country in Europe," adds the worthy Prelate, "do they require so general an information in religious controversies, and at the same time so great a share of civil prudence in the Parish Minister, as in this Kingdom, distracted as it is, more than any other country, by jarring sects, and in a political situation delicate beyond any other, from its inferiority in power to the Sister Kingdom, and from the various objects of rivalry and jealousy between them. This combination," continues he, "was as effectual to

deprive the Clergyman of almost his whole income as forcible opposition, and had tithes been their only object, they had no motive to proceed further. This, however, did not content them. *They took the arms out of the hands of Protestants*, whom they could not suspect of employing them in defence of tithes. They levied ammunition, and money for the express purpose of purchasing warlike stores; forced individuals who had taken tithe to swear to break through their agreement; menaced and ill treated persons who served process, or should appear at the assizes to prove contracts for tithes; proceeded to commit savage acts of cruelty on the servants of the clergy, and at last to attack their persons; to force them to swear to give up their property, to prepare graves for them, and to threaten some with tortures and death. They intimidated vestries from levying money for the repair of churches, for the payment of the legal salary of the officers attending the Church, or the purchase of elements for the Holy Communion; refused payment of Church rates, and rescued the goods distrained for the same by the parish officers; nailed up one Church, and bound themselves by oath to burn another; they broke open Gaols, set fire to hay and corn, and even to houses, especially those occupied by the army; and at last had the audacity to threaten the cities of Limerick and Cork, and the town of Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine, and to take measures for interrupting a supply of provisions by public menaces to fishermen and farmers; they threatened to burn a whole town, unless a Whiteboy confined there was released: but the circumstance which appears most alarming, (as it is the strongest evidence of system,) is their having established a kind of Post Office for communication, by which probably they are enabled to convene such public meetings as their own notices prove they actually hold. Into this state of savage anarchy they have reduced the province of Munster, and continue nightly expeditions for their grand object, that of *arming the Protestants and arming themselves*, not only in that province, but in that of Leinster, *within fifty miles of the capital*. What were the motives, let the measures declare; what  
will



will be the effect on the Protestant religion and interest, and of course on the connexion of this country with Great Britain, unless the Legislature shall take a firm, decided part, is too evident."

This is, doubtless, a hideous picture, which an amiable painter has drawn from the life. It speaks to the feelings of Great Britain and Ireland, how much an Union between them would promote a similar administration of law in both, with the same effects of peaceful deportment and laborious application. *From doing nothing, we learn to do ill.* When restrained by wholesome coercion within the bounds of law, and when deprived of occasions of violating the public tranquillity, the lower orders may be gradually weaned from habits of turbulent poverty, and embrace in exchange the more eligible enjoyments of decent competence and real freedom.

Upon the whole, an incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be pronounced a most desirable object to both Kingdoms; yet it is certainly not without its difficulties. Every measure of such extraordinary magnitude, must be supposed to meet with a proportionable opposition. In the adjustment of so weighty a business, besides the obstacles that arise from the very nature of it, inveterate prejudices, and contending interests, would not fail to create many additional hinderances. All these might, however, be obviated, and finally removed, by the temperate management of well-chosen commissioners from both countries. It may, perhaps, be justly asserted, that the Union of England and Scotland was a work far more delicate, and still more difficult from ancient prejudices, and recent innovations, than would be found, if attempted, with Ireland: for, supposing the external obstacles originating from human passions to be equally out of the question in both cases, the perfect similarity of the constitutions of England and Ireland, both as to church and state, would make the people of both much more easily coalesce. No small part of the difficulty, that was encountered in the Union of Scotland and England, arose from their difference of Church Government, since even now,

though these Kingdoms are incorporated, their religious establishments, as De Foe remarks, are only confederated: on the other hand, the established Churches of England and Ireland are the same in both Kingdoms. Thus one half of the obstacles which then occurred, would not be found to exist in the negotiation for an Union with Ireland.

At the same time, it must be owned, however great the expedience may be, that we can hardly expect any future period to present so favourable a juncture, nor any thing like the same relative situation between the two Kingdoms, as took place at the time of the Union with Scotland. Innumerable causes operate to make it unlikely, that we should ever recur to the terms upon which the Governments of England and Scotland then stood; nor indeed is it to be desired that we should. The formidable strength of England, owing to a successful foreign war, or rather a continued series of the most brilliant victories, enabled her Government to carry her point, however unpalatable the Union might have been to a great part of the Scottish nation. This age has seen the case reversed, and Great Britain in circumstances extremely different; but if Scotland has felt the advantages of an Union with England, which parties admit, in augmented commerce, wealth, and tranquillity, and if the same beneficial effects are justly to be expected from an incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland, it would be honourable to both parties, as well as conducive to the general harmony of the Empire, were such a measure adopted, from a clear conviction how many advantages would result from it to both.

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This argument has been stated by the respectable Divine, whom I have already mentioned, with so much brevity, clearness, and force, that I was induced to publish at large the THIRD PROPOSAL of DEAN TUCKER, in 1750, for incorporating the *British Isles* into ONE KINGDOM, thinking every



every reader would be glad to peruse the sentiments of so able a writer on so interesting a subject.

### “ III. P R O P O S A L.

To incorporate both the British isles together, and to make one Kingdom in all respects as to Parliament, trade, and taxes.

This proposal of incorporation has long been the wish of every generous disinterested patriot of both kingdoms. And indeed, inexpressibly great would be the benefit on both sides. The Irish would share in the advantage of our trade, and we in theirs. By permitting them to get rich at the expence of the French, they would be enabled to ease us of the burden of the worst and heaviest of our taxes :---whereas at present, the French, through our own unaccountable infatuation, get rich at their expence. By this mutual benefit, neither Kingdom would be looked upon as foreign to the other : but the goods of both would be imported duty-free, or perhaps be considered only as coming coast-wise. The hostile prohibition against wearing, or using the produce of either Kingdom, would be repealed ; and all that unnatural war between the commerce of the two Nations, would be at an end : which would be attended with these further happy consequences, That many of the necessaries of life would be imported cheaper into England, than they now can be purchased ; a great advantage this to the merchant and manufacturer :---and many more of the luxuries, ornaments, and delicacies of living, would be exported from hence into Ireland. For most certain it is, that in proportion as Ireland grew rich, they would take the lead for the richest of their cloaths, furniture, plate, jewels, equipages, &c. &c. from England. Likewise the inducements of being near the Parliament, the Court, the public funds, &c. would bring many more Irish families to reside, and spend their fortunes here, than now do. In short, whatever wealth Ireland would draw from other countries by its produce, manufactures, and happy situation ; all that would continually center in England.

But

But here, methinks, I hear SELF-INTEREST making an outcry, "they would run away with our trade." But pray, let me calmly ask, Who would run away with it? or where would they run to? Why truly our own people, our own countrymen, (who may as justly be called so, as the inhabitants of any neighbouring county,---and are some of the best, and most faithful subjects the Government has) would perhaps carry some part of a manufacture from us to themselves.---But what detriment would this be to the public? The People of Yorkshire have done the very same thing by Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Let us therefore have a meeting of the clothiers of these two counties to petition the Parliament, that the Yorkshire looms and mills may be all broke and destroyed: for they have run away with our trade.---This is so ridiculous and absurd a proposal, that I believe there is no person living, but must see and feel it to be so. And yet let me ask, Is not this the very case with respect to the objection against incorporating with Ireland? Or if there be a difference between the two cases, I should be glad to know wherein it consists? Is Ireland to be looked upon as a distinct Kingdom?---More is the pity: for as the two Kingdoms have but one common Head,---one common interest both in Church and State,---the same friends,---and the same enemies; they ought to have been long since consolidated together.---But allowing it to be called a distinct Kingdom at present, till it is united: so is Yorkshire a distinct county, and was formerly, in the times of the Heptarchy, a kingdom likewise distinct from the two counties above mentioned. Is Ireland a great way distant from England?---Yorkshire is at a greater distance still from the counties above mentioned, and the communication between them is not so easy by land, for the purposes of commerce, as the other is by sea.

"But Ireland is more advantageously situated for the trade to the West-Indies; therefore---" Therefore we must deny our own people the benefit of trading, because they are advantageously situated for carrying it on. This is a weighty argument: Bristol, for instance, is better situated



ated for the Irish trade than London; therefore let us Londoners petition, that the port of Bristol may be locked up.

It would be an endless, and a tedious piece of work to wade through such gross and palpable absurdities. One thing is plain and obvious, that self-interest, the bane of all public good, is driven to hard shifts, in order to cover such views as she dare not openly avow. If England itself was divided into two kingdoms, one comprehending all the south, the other all the north side of the Thames, and there were hostile prohibitions against importing certain sorts of goods from London to Southwark, and *vice versa*, and high duties upon all the rest: many individuals on both sides, would find their own private interest in upholding the division, and would cry out, upon any proposal being made for an Union--These foreigners will run away with our trade---They are better situated than us---Our trade is in danger. But would this cry weigh with upright men on both sides, who had the welfare of the community truly at heart? ---If it would not, what shall we think of the same argument when urged against Great Britain's incorporating with Ireland?"



